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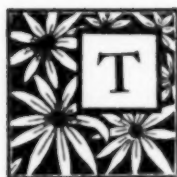
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JOHN NELSON'S MISSION TO THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES 1831-1832

By HOWARD R. MARRARO



THE United States Government was obliged to make three separate attempts, extending over a period of about twenty years, to obtain payment from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies for losses sustained by American merchantmen during the Napoleonic wars in Naples.¹ The first of these attempts, made in 1816, by William Pinkney,² of Maryland, ended in failure because the restored legitimate government of Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies was unwilling to assume responsibility for the wrongs committed by Murat,³ who was king during the latter part of the

¹ A good account of the controversy may be found in the Rev. Christopher Perrotta, *The claims of the United States against the Kingdom of Naples*. (Washington, D. C., Belvedere Press, 1926). This article on Nelson's mission is based on unpublished documents in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

² See Howard R. Marraro, "William Pinkney's Mission to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, 1816." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIII (Dec. 1948), 235-265.

³ Joachim Murat (1767-1815). Murat distinguished himself as a cavalry leader

Napoleonic régime when the seizures occurred, and for what happened during the absence of the lawful King and the Government of Naples. The second attempt, made in 1825-1826, with the mission of John Appleton,⁴ of Massachusetts, also ended in failure essentially for the same reason.⁵ The third and final effort was crowned with success in 1831-1832 with the appointment of John Nelson, of Maryland.

So little is known of John Nelson that it may be useful to record here the few known facts of his life. He was born in Fredericktown, Md., June 1, 1791, the son of Roger Nelson who, as a brigadier-general in the Revolutionary army, was left for dead on the field of Camden, but recovered. Afterwards, Roger Nelson became a member of Congress and a district judge of Maryland. John Nelson was graduated at the College of William and Mary in 1811, and two years later was admitted to the bar. He settled to practice law in Fredericktown where he also held several local offices. He was elected as a Democrat to the Seventeenth Congress, 1821-1823; he was, however, not a candidate for reelection in 1822 to the Eighteenth Congress. He was appointed United States Minister to Naples by President Jackson, of whom John Nelson was an enthusiastic supporter, serving from October 24, 1831 to October 15, 1832. More than a decade later he was appointed attorney-general in President Tyler's cabinet, to succeed Hugh S. Legaré, and served from 1843 to 1845. He died in Baltimore, Md., on January 8, 1860, and was interred in Greenmount Cemetery.⁶

in the French army during the Napoleonic wars. In 1800 he married Caroline, the youngest sister of Napoleon I. By the decree of Napoleon of July 15, 1808, he was appointed on Aug. 1, to the throne of Naples, which he held until 1815. He called himself Joachim Napoleon, King of the Two Sicilies, but his authority was limited to the Kingdom of Naples, and never extended to Sicily proper. After the fall of Napoleon, Murat lost his throne, but returning with a hostile expedition, he was captured, courtmartialled, and shot at Pizzo, Calabria, on Oct. 13, 1815.

⁴ See Howard R. Marraro, "John James Appleton's Mission to Naples (1825-26)", *Journal of Central European Affairs*, to be published in October 1949. See also Henry Merritt Wriston, *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations*, The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1923 (Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), 631-633.

⁵ Appleton came to the conclusion that his failure was due to the fact that the Neapolitan Government discovered that his powers rendered fear of reprisals groundless and that the claims of the United States against France were still unacknowledged.

⁶ United States Congress, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1927* (United States Gov't Printing Office, 1928), p. 1351; Lamb's *Biographical Dictionary of the United States* (Federal Book Co. of Boston, Boston, Mass., 1903), V, 648-649.

Nelson's mission to Naples was important to the country as well as to many of its citizens, whose interest was deeply concerned in the negotiation with which he was charged. Briefly, these were the facts involved in the controversy between the two governments.

In the year 1809, while Murat was King of Naples, and neutrals were suffering under the operation of the English orders in council on the one hand, and the Berlin and Milan decrees on the other, which last were also enforced in the Kingdom of Naples, American commerce was almost banished from the ocean, and few American merchants dared to venture their ships in a trade so hazardous, and subject to so many vexations as that with any country in Europe, which was under the influence of France. Naples was one of these countries, being governed by a member of Napoleon's family. The Berlin and Milan decrees were strictly enforced in all the ports of the Kingdom of Naples. The consequence was that, without any shipping belonging to the country, and all neutral ships having been banished, the surplus produce of the Kingdom could not be exported, and fell in value, and foreign articles of the first necessity, rose to exorbitant prices. It appears that, on March 31, 1809, a modification of the Berlin and Milan decrees was adopted by the Government of Naples, which admitted certain enumerated articles imported in neutral vessels; but finding the Americans reluctant to place themselves in their power under the general promise of protection implied by these decrees, a special invitation was made to the merchants of the United States, by a decree dated June 30, 1809, and officially communicated to Frederick Degan,⁷ the United States Consul in Naples, by which the Americans, by name, were promised the free disposal of their cargoes, if accompanied by the usual papers, and provided, however, they had not been in a port of Great Britain, or had not been visited by her cruisers.

As soon as this decree became known, several enterprising merchants of the United States, putting faith in the promises it held out to them, fitted out vessels with rich cargoes for Naples. The

⁷ The Duke of Gallo, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in his letter to Degan stated that it was "the intention of His Majesty . . . freely to admit American vessels coming directly into his ports, provided they had regular papers and had not, by paying duty to Great Britain, or by submitting to be searched by English cruisers, brought themselves within the decrees of December 21, 1806 and January 9, 1808." Degan ceased to be Consul the same year. Alexander Hammett, of Maryland, was appointed to succeed him. Hammett held the post at Naples from June 1809 to 1860.

first two or three that arrived were fairly dealt with:—their cargoes were sold, their returns were taken in, and they were permitted to depart without molestation. But when, tempted by their show of good faith, an additional number had been drawn within their grasp, and the prey became worth taking, the whole were, by order of King Murat, seized, confiscated, and sold without the slightest pretext. The protests of the shipmasters were disregarded; the complaints of the American consul treated for many months with contemptuous silence; and when, at long last, an answer was given, the robbery was said to be justified by an Act of Congress which forbade commercial intercourse between the United States and both France and England—an act that did not concern Naples in the remotest degree and which, having been passed four months before the decree inviting the American vessels into the ports of Naples, could never have justified their seizure after their arrival in Naples. The number of American vessels and cargoes thus faithlessly seized and sold was forty-nine. Later schedules, on the basis of fuller data, altered the number. Furthermore, the masters of some of the vessels were even forced to draw bills on their owners, to pay for the port charges. Several hundred crewmen were left to starve, or were supported by the American Consul, and although promised a conveyance to their country by the Neapolitan Government, the Consul was obliged to charter a vessel, at the expense of eight or ten thousand dollars, to carry them home. In the year 1812, four other vessels with their cargoes were also seized and sold under similar frivolous pretexts, by the same Neapolitan Government. This part of the transaction was remarkable from the fact that, at the time of this seizure, several other vessels, under the American flag, were also under prosecution, but the Consul of the United States, being convinced that they were English property, and sailing under forged papers, frankly stated that fact to the Neapolitan courts. This open and proper conduct produced the condemnation of those vessels which had fraudulently assumed the use of the United States flag, but did not save those that were bona fide American property. Therefore, their value was added by the American Government to the amount of the indemnity claimed first by Mr. Pinkney, then by Mr. Appleton, and finally by Mr. Nelson.

Under these circumstances, the United States Government re-

solved upon Mr. Nelson's mission. Its avowed purpose was to make a strong and decisive attempt to procure a just indemnity to the injured American citizens, and at the same time assert the honor of the country which suffered every day that the Government delayed to enforce the demand.

The State Department considered the time and circumstances as favorable for prosecuting the American claims. The time was appropriate since Mr. Nelson's mission came shortly after France, whose example was followed, and whose authority was relied upon, had yielded to the justice of the American claims.⁸ The circumstances were also considered favorable since they coincided with the commencement of a new reign, when the mind of a young prince was presumed to be more susceptible of the feelings of justice than that of his predecessor, soured by the misfortunes inflicted upon him and his family by the former occupant of his throne.⁹ Furthermore, yielding to the insistent demands for a settlement by the New England merchants who continued to send memorials to Congress, President Jackson, in his third annual message to Congress, December 6, 1831, pledged himself to secure indemnity for the wrongs committed against American merchants by Naples and other countries of Europe.¹⁰

The full power of John Nelson, the plenipotentiary of the United States, was dated October 24, 1831, the date of his commission as chargé d'affaires at Naples.¹¹ It was in customary form, authorizing him "to agree, treat, consult and negotiate of and concerning general Commerce between the United States and the government of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and also on

⁸ Those claims against France were in the major part for "belligerent depredations" during the Napoleonic wars, subsequent to 1805. For an account of these claims and the text of the treaty with France, signed July 4, 1831, see Hunter Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (Gov't Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1933), III, 641-651. With his Despatch No. 2, Feb. 13, 1832, Nelson sent to Livingston a copy of his [Nelson's] Note to Cassaro, dated Feb. 13, 1832, enclosing a copy of a convention between France and the United States, as agreeable to the wish expressed by His Excellency at the interview. It would seem that this was done to register at once with his government at home the fact that Cassaro had made this expressed request for the text of the treaty with France. For a full discussion of the French claims, see *Annals of the 22nd Congress*, 2d session, 1202-1297.

⁹ Ferdinand II (1810-1859). The son of Francis I. Ferdinand became King of the Two Sicilies Nov. 8, 1830. He reigned to his death which occurred on May 22, 1859. He was known by the appellation of King Bomba.

¹⁰ American merchants also had outstanding claims for spoliations against France, Holland, Denmark, and Spain.

¹¹ Department of State, 2 *Credences*, 171, 172.

the subject of Indemnities claimed by Citizens of the United States from that Government, in reference to the sequestration and confiscation of their property within the Neapolitan dominions, and all matters and subjects connected therewith, and to conclude and sign a Treaty or Treaties, Convention or Conventions touching the premises"; but his instructions of October 27, 1831, precluded him from an agreement regarding the American claims.¹²

Secretary of State Edward Livingston¹³ in his Instruction No. 2, dated Washington, October 27, 1831, informing Mr. Nelson of his appointment, stated that the facts on which the demand was based were simple, had never been disputed, and the right which was deduced from them was founded on the clearest and best established principles of the laws of nations. For this reason, Mr. Appleton's instructions to Mr. Nelson were precise, but the Secretary of State made it clear that they required in their execution a steadiness of purpose not to be diverted from the object of Mr. Nelson's mission by arguments, however plausible, or retarded by the usual resources of diplomatic ingenuity.

Specifically, Mr. Nelson was instructed to convince the Government of the Two Sicilies that the United States were in earnest in exacting the full indemnity so long due to her citizens. Mr. Nelson was told to stress the desire of the President to cultivate friendly relations with the Government of the Two Sicilies, and of his desire to increase the commercial relations between the two peoples. Mr. Nelson, however, was to emphasize the fact that an indispensable preliminary was the settlement of the long deferred claims of American merchants. The President of the United States indulged the sincere hope that His Majesty would at once perceive and acknowledge that the American demand was well-founded, and thus signalize the commencement of his reign by an act of justice, that would at once have increased his reputation, secured the good feeling of a friendly power, and in the end promoted an intercourse that in a single year would produce more advantage to his people than the whole amount of the indemnity demanded.¹⁴ Mr. Nelson was further instructed to anticipate the

¹² *Documents relating to the Convention with Sicily*. Senate Document No. 70, 22nd Congress, 2nd session, serial 230; Department of State, 13 *Instructions*, United States Ministers, 260-68. Hunter Miller, *op. cit.*, III, 711-721.

¹³ Edward Livingston, of Louisiana. Commissioned Secretary of State by President Jackson, May 24, 1831. Commissioned as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France, May 29, 1833, and retired that day from the former post.

¹⁴ The commerce and navigation statistics of the United States in those years

objections of the Neapolitan Government to the American claim—objections which were derived from alleged usurpation of Murat. In reply to these objections, Mr. Nelson was authorized to state that the liability of the nation to make good all the engagements made, to redress all the injuries done, and to profit by all the just advantages acquired by its Government *de facto*, was too well established in the code of nations, and too recently and generally exemplified in their practice to be then denied even in argument; that one nation can only look to the acknowledged and peaceable possessor of the political and civil power in another; that a contrary doctrine would produce a continual intervention between the independent powers, injurious to the right of self-government in each—a position which the United States would never assume with respect to other nations, nor suffer to be taken with respect to themselves. Therefore, Mr. Nelson was to make clear that his Government confidently expected that this ground of opposition to America's demand would no longer be insisted upon, and as, from the documents relating to the affair, no other had ever been advanced, the American minister felt certain that the Neapolitan Government was then prepared to treat for the long expected indemnity without any unnecessary delay, and enable him to announce to the American merchants that the long period during which they had waited for justice, was at length drawing to a close; and to the nation, that their reliance on the honor and good faith of His Majesty, had not been disappointed.

Mr. Nelson's instructions also advised him to convey to the Neapolitan Government in strong but respectful language, the idea that it was a firm resolve of the President, on his entering on the duties of his office, to assert in the most efficacious manner the rights and claims of the merchant class of his fellow-citizens upon foreign governments; that his avowed principle was to make no demand not founded on justice; but as far as his functions permitted, to submit to no wrong; that he had carefully examined all the circumstances of the American demand upon the Neapolitan Government; that the principle upon which it was founded appeared to him incontestable; and that, therefore, Mr. Nelson's mission had been decided upon in order to bring it to a close, to

gave separate figures for Sicily and for Italy and Malta, but no separate entry for Naples. It is, therefore, not possible to estimate the value of the imports and exports from the Two Sicilies. See United States, House of Representatives. Treasury Department. 22nd Congress, 1st Session. Document No. 230.

the end that if, unfortunately, a satisfactory answer should be denied, or delayed, up to the period necessary for communication to Congress, the President might submit to that body a statement of the demand he had made and afterwards execute whatever measures it deemed necessary to pursue for the protection of their fellow-citizens, and the honor of the country.¹⁵

This being a negotiation in which, of all America's other foreign relations, strength of argument and firmness of purpose were to be united with courtesy of manner and language, due as well to others as to ourselves, Secretary of State Livingston informed Mr. Nelson that the Government congratulated itself in his acceptance of a duty as important to private interest as well as public reputation, and which his [Nelson's] talents rendered him so fit to perform.

The Secretary of State wished to impress firmly upon Mr. Nelson's mind, and through him upon the Neapolitan Government, that the period for procrastination was past, that every diplomatic evasion of the result was considered as a denial, and that it was necessary that a communication of the result be made to Congress, who, most probably, would take such measures as ensured full compensation.

As a means of carrying out the general principle of the negotiation, if that was conceded, Mr. Nelson was instructed that the acceptance of a sum in gross, to be distributed among the claimants by a commission created by an act of Congress was to be preferred over any other means. Besides demanding full compensation, Mr. Nelson was to claim the interest during twenty years, for the injuries offered to the seamen and merchants, and the expenses to which the Government was put for sending these men home. All these, added to the principal, made a considerable amount, from which Mr. Nelson was not to retrench until he arrived at a sum that satisfied the claimants. It was not to be much, if anything, less than the amount of the ships and cargoes. However,

¹⁵ In his third annual message to Congress, December 6, 1831, President Jackson referred at length to Nelson's mission, adding: "... and I feel the fullest confidence that the talents of the citizen commissioned for that purpose will place before him [His Sicilian Majesty] the just claims of our injured citizens in such light as will enable me before your [the Congress'] adjournment to announce that they have been adjusted and secured. Precise instructions to the effect of bringing the negotiation to a speedy issue have been given, and will be obeyed." See, James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897*. (Washington, D. C., 1896), III, 1113.

Mr. Nelson was also instructed to take every precaution in his power to prevent the admission into his estimate of all unfounded claims, and to reduce exaggerated estimates to their just value. The expenses of the Government in returning the seamen and supporting them was to be insisted upon as a point of honor from which no deduction was possible.

Since Congress was expected to remain in session until the first of May, the result of Mr. Nelson's mission was to be made known to them during the beginning of April, and was to be sent, at the latest, if no direct opportunity offered, by one of the vessels of the Mediterranean Squadron,¹⁶ on the first of March. Because Mr. Nelson was not expected to reach Naples before the latter part of December, he had no more than two months to obtain a definitive answer. For this reason Mr. Nelson early in the negotiations, was told by Secretary Livingston, to take occasion to state to the Neapolitan Government that it was required by that time.

With these specific and detailed instructions, in his possession, Mr. Nelson set sail from New York on November 8, 1831. After a brief stay in London, he went to Paris. Leaving the French capital on December 27, he travelled via Lyons, Nice, Genoa, Pisa and Rome with all possible despatch, in the hope of accomplishing his journey in nine or ten days. However, with the most anxious diligence, he was not able to reach Naples till late in the night of January 19, 1832.

After having found suitable living accommodations, on January 23, Mr. Nelson addressed a note to Prince Cassaro,¹⁷ Minister, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, informing the Neapolitan of his arrival, and asking an interview so as to present his letter of credence. This was done on January 25, and on Sunday, January

¹⁶ The detailing of a war ship to "bring the treaty home" was sufficiently unusual an occurrence, in view of the rank held by Mr. Nelson, to indicate that there was urgency in getting it ratified in the United States. There was no intimation that the presence of the American Squadron in the Mediterranean or of this ship "to convey the treaty home" had any ulterior motive. However, as will be noted later, Commodore Patterson felt that he had had a share in Nelson's success.

¹⁷ Antonio Statella, Prince of Cassaro (1785-1864). He was the son of Francesco Maria, the first Prince of Cassaro. Antonio Statella was sent as envoy extraordinary to Sardinia; ambassador extraordinary to Spain; envoy and minister extraordinary to Vienna. He was minister of foreign affairs *ad interim* from Jan. 26, 1830; minister of foreign affairs from July 27, 1830 to March 20, 1840; finally from March 15 to June 25, 1860, he was president of the Council of Ministers of Francis II. On the Prince of Cassaro, see: Ruggero Moscati, *Ferdinando II di Borbone nei documenti diplomatici austriaci* (Naples, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1947.) In this publication Cassaro's entire political career is traced and developed from unpublished documents in the archives of Vienna and Naples.

29, Mr. Nelson was received by the King "with much apparent cordiality."¹⁸

On January 31, Mr. Nelson transmitted to the Prince of Cassaro a note explanatory of the objects of his mission. In this note, the American chargé d'affaires followed very closely the instructions he had received from the Secretary of State. Since the Prince of Cassaro failed to reply to this note, Mr. Nelson asked and obtained another interview at the Foreign Office, which was granted on February 11, 1832. Being still without a reply to his communication of January 31, although it had been explicitly promised, Mr. Nelson availed himself of a casual meeting, on February 18, to remind the Prince of Cassaro of his engagement, and to express his regret that it had not been fulfilled. The Neapolitan Foreign Minister showed a good deal of embarrassment, earnestly assuring Mr. Nelson, to use the Prince's own language, that it was not his fault; and that the President of the Neapolitan Council had not convened that body, as soon as he had expected, but that it would assemble on February 20, when the answer to Mr. Nelson's demands would certainly be communicated to him. Mr. Nelson expressed his anxious desire to receive it, and his apprehension that longer delay might be regarded by the United States Government as indicative of an indisposition in His Majesty's council to do justice to American merchants; and coerce it to resort to measures which it was solicitous, if possible, to avoid. However, this last assurance by the Prince of Cassaro, like that tendered in the conference of February 11, remained unredeemed.

Notwithstanding these repeated disappointments, it was Mr. Nelson's intention, as the period limited by his last note to the Prince of Cassaro approached, to have sought a second personal interview with him, when to Mr. Nelson's utter surprise he was informed that the Prince of Cassaro had left Naples for Sicily where he was likely to be detained for some time. Mr. Nelson had not received the slightest intimation of the Prince of Cassaro's intention to be absent from Naples, and although other considerations were alleged to have influenced the Prince of Cassaro's visit

¹⁸ Referring to the "apparent cordiality," the *American Annual Register* 1833, p. 20, explained it by suggesting that "the ominous name of Nelson for Naples was fraught with recollections of bombarded capitals and exacted indemnities. The great English admiral had been a terror in the Mediterranean as long as Murat and Napoleon were in power." Perrotta, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

to Palermo, there was good reason for the belief that the opportunity it afforded of avoiding the necessity, with some show of excuse, of answering the demands he had preferred, was not entirely unappreciated. Meanwhile, information derived from various sources had satisfied Mr. Nelson that it was the policy of the Neapolitan Government to postpone the negotiation concerning the American claims as long as practicable. By deferring the discussion, in the opinion of Mr. Nelson, the Neapolitan Government hoped to render impossible the anticipated action of Congress upon the subject, during that session; and to place itself in a position, which would enable it to avail itself of any circumstances, which might occur, to justify the further postponement of its consideration thereafter. It was generally supposed, however, that in the end, the Neapolitan Government would gratify American demands, but that it would put off the evil day, as long as consistent with its own security. Mr. Nelson had every reason to believe that this supposition was correct.

In his Despatch No. 3, bearing the date line, Naples, March 12, 1832, informing Secretary of State Livingston of the progress of the negotiations, Mr. Nelson expressed the hope that the President would be satisfied that he [Mr. Nelson] had exerted every effort to meet his expectations and to bring this negotiation to a speedy issue. Mr. Nelson deeply regretted his failure to accomplish the object of his mission within the period contemplated by his instructions. He added, however, that he had every confidence that this failure would be readily referred to its true cause, namely, the predetermination of the Neapolitan Government, to avoid the discussion of the American claims, as long as it could, and to pay only when it was convinced that it had to.

In another despatch, unnumbered and marked "private," dated Naples, March 12, 1832, to Secretary of State Livingston, Mr. Nelson reiterated his own firm persuasion that a reply to his notes would be delayed, as long as possible, and when given, that it would be so framed, as studiously to avoid the discussion of the questions involved in the negotiation. Mr. Nelson did not believe that the Government had sufficient firmness, whatever its inclinations were, to give a positive answer of refusal to the American demands. The American *chargé d'affaires* was quite sure, however, that if it yielded, the result was due to its apprehensions, rather than to its sense of justice. The most effectual means of

bringing the negotiation to a close, within any reasonable time, according to Mr. Nelson, was to satisfy His Majesty of the power of the President to resort to measures of coercion, if redress was longer withheld. Mr. Nelson suggested that an act of Congress investing the Executive, with authority, to employ naval force, to enforce America's just demands, if satisfactory arrangements were not concluded by a limited day, would result in the prompt accomplishment of all America's purpose. Anything short of this, Mr. Nelson feared, would encourage the belief, that this negotiation, like those of 1816 and 1825 could be dismissed, without hazard to Neapolitan interests.

Meanwhile, on inquiry, Mr. Nelson had discovered that the revenues of His Majesty were ample, and, therefore, he would be quite able to pay if he had to. The facts were significant: the Government was buying in its inscription debt every week; twenty-four millions of ducats was the estimated amount of its clear income; its debt was almost one hundred millions, bearing an interest of five percent; and its stock was worth about 78. Hence Mr. Nelson came to the conclusion that although it was true that the debt of the Government was large, its means were more than sufficient to meet all its engagements.

Two important interviews on April 4, and May 14, between Mr. Nelson and the Prince of Cassaro followed. In both interviews Mr. Nelson expressed his decided dissatisfaction with the course which had been pursued by the Neapolitan Government in relation to the American claims and renewed his application for a definite reply to his note. At the first interview (April 4), although the Prince of Cassaro expressed his regrets, Mr. Nelson felt certain that the groundless pretext for further postponement unequivocally evidenced the settled design of the Neapolitan Government to protract the negotiation, to as late a period, as consistent with a sense of its own security. Mr. Nelson became daily more convinced that the Government intended to put off the settlement as long as it could. At the second interview (May 14), to the usual cordial greetings of the Prince of Cassaro, Mr. Nelson replied that to him it was a subject of unaffected concern that the demands had failed to engage the prompt attention of His Majesty's Government; that, after the promises which he had received from time to time, the views of His Majesty with regard to them would be communicated to him, he had just reason

to complain, that the reply had been so long withheld; and that he was not sure, that instead of continuing to press the claims upon the notice of a Government seemingly indisposed to consider them, it would not better consist with the dignity of the nation he represented, and with his own duty, to take his leave of the Neapolitan Court. However, Mr. Nelson added that he entertained a strong repugnance to the adoption of a course which might appear harsh or to break off a negotiation, which he trusted would yet terminate satisfactorily to the Government of the United States. The Prince replied that he felt certain that the reply would be given within a few days, although he was unwilling to pledge himself to this action.

Finally, on June 2, Mr. Nelson received the long-expected reply of the Prince of Cassaro. It was dated May 30. It substantially reasserted the principles assumed by the Marquis di Circello¹⁹ in his note to Mr. Pinkney of October 15, 1816.²⁰ Briefly, the Neapolitan Government rested its denial of its responsibility for the acts of Murat upon two grounds: (1) that he never was *de facto*, the King of Naples; that the acts of confiscation complained of emanated from Napoleon and that France alone was responsible for them, Murat, being in regard to them, but the passive instrument of the Emperor; (2) that conceding Murat to have been invested with complete sovereign power, yet it was founded in usurpation and the restored dynasty was not answerable for his wrongs. These positions, according to Mr. Nelson, were supported by various suggestions of fact and argument "specious and plausible." No attempt was made to justify the confiscations; on the contrary, they were denounced as indefensible. The note concluded with an offer to deliver up the American vessels then in the Neapolitan service, or to pay for their value.

To this paper, Mr. Nelson sent a reply on June 29, in which he discussed in great detail the several questions presented.²¹ Mr.

¹⁹ Tommaso di Somma, Marquis di Circello (1737-1826). A prominent figure in Neapolitan government affairs. At the time of Mr. Pinkney's mission, the Marquis di Circello was minister of foreign affairs.

²⁰ For text of this despatch, see: *Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting in Conformity to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 30th of January last, Sundry Papers, in Relation to the Claim of the Merchants of the United States, for their Property Seized and Confiscated under the Authority of the King of Naples. Read and ordered to lie upon the table.* March 2, 1818. House Document No. 130. (Washington, E. De Krafft, 1818.)

²¹ This note to Cassaro, dated Naples, June 29, 1832, is the one which con-

Nelson endeavored to show that the Government of Naples from 1808 to 1815 was in Murat; that he reigned *de facto*; that the confiscations of the vessels and cargoes of American citizens, were the acts of the Neapolitan Government for which the nation was responsible; and that the responsibility having once attached to the nation, adhered to it, despite the changes which had occurred in its government and rulers. To the offer to deliver up the vessels or pay for their value, Mr. Nelson replied that his instructions contemplated no partial arrangement of the claims preferred; but that should the Neapolitan Government tender a sufficient recompense for any part of them, he would not decline its acceptance; that, however, to be sufficient, it had to cover not only the value of the vessels at the time of their seizure, in the port when they sailed, but the interest upon that value up to the time of payment; and that its acceptance, in discharge of the particular claims, was to be accompanied by an explicit declaration that it would not operate, or be construed to impair or affect the residue of America's demands, upon a satisfactory arrangement of the whole of which, the United States, would not cease to insist.

If the refusal of the Neapolitan Government to satisfy the American claims at this point had been given at an earlier period, Mr. Nelson would have regarded it as sufficiently positive to have justified him, in at once demanding his passports, and returning to the United States. But as he expected to receive instructions from Secretary of State Livingston daily,²² he felt it his duty to

stituted Nelson's masterwork while in the post at Naples, for in it he established, in lengthy and carefully thought out logic, the full case for the American claims, supporting his argument with aptly chosen quotations from the works of learned international lawyers whose works still are standard after nearly 200 years. This letter is further noteworthy as being the one which Nelson, after he had started home with the treaty achieved, claimed had been distorted in publication under the auspices of the Senate. On this matter see below. Nelson's note of June 29, 1832 is published in Senate Document No. 70, pp. 31-50.

²² Some idea of the delays involved in diplomats' communication with their home government, and the consequent extent to which they were constrained to face the problems of their post alone, may be gained from the fact that the month before his Despatch No. 8, July 12, 1832, of Nelson, his chief, Mr. Livingston, was writing in his Instruction No. 5, dated June 11th: "Your Despatch No. 3, dated the 12th of March was received by the *Ontario*, on the 6th of May last. Having since been in daily expectation of hearing from you, further instructions have been delayed until this moment, when the sailing of the *United States* obliges us to found them on the information given by you at that time when your last was written. . . . Neither the dignity of our Government, nor the duty it owes its citizens, will justify any further delay; and that you are therefore instructed to demand an explicit answer, whether the Neapolitan Government will make satisfaction for the seizures made by Murat of the property of American citizens, and take measures for the prompt and full payment of the same; that the frigate

await their arrival. In the interim, Mr. Nelson proposed to use his best efforts to impress the Neapolitan Government with more just and liberal views upon the subject in controversy. Mr. Nelson did not believe, however, that any change in the determination of the Neapolitan Government could be affected by discussion. In his Despatch No. 8, dated July 12, 1832, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Nelson wrote that nothing short of actual force, or the decided manifestation of a resolution to resort to reprisals, would influence it to do justice to America's abused citizens. The Neapolitan Government, according to Mr. Nelson, had neither the power nor the inclination to resist such a manifestation; but it confidently counted on the continued forbearance of the American Government. Indeed, Mr. Nelson feared that His Majesty's Government would persist in withholding all redress, as long as mere negotiation was employed to enforce its rendition.

Mr. Nelson received no reply to his note of June 29. There followed several conferences with the Prince of Cassaro, from which Mr. Nelson collected enough information to satisfy him, that the Neapolitan Government would withhold all redress, until measures of coercion were resorted to. In another interview held on July 3, 1832, the Prince of Cassaro inquired whether, if the Neapolitan Government yielded the principle in contestation, the United States Government would consent to receive works of art, in payment for the demands of its citizens. To Mr. Nelson's reply that he had no authority to conclude such an arrangement, the Prince of Cassaro said: "We have no money; and it is impossible for us to pay in money." Thereupon Mr. Nelson proceeded to show that the Sicilian Government, if willing, was

United States, despatched to demand this answer, will wait twenty days to receive it, and if, at the expiration of that time, a satisfactory answer is not given, and proper provision made for the payment of our citizens, that you are directed to ask for your passports to return to your country, and that the President will then take such measures as his constitutional duties shall direct. . . . Livingston also stated that the President, under the existing circumstances, had deferred making a communication to Congress relative to our claims on Naples. In the *United States*, the reading of the *United States*, the *Delaware* and others for sea duty at short notice, caused rumors to fly thick and fast. Nor was their destination unknown, for both newspapers, the *Globe* and the *National Intelligencer*, deemed to closely reflect government viewpoints, engaged, in May, in lively, and opposing, printed interpretations of what all this activity of the Navy portended; the *National Intelligencer* asking pointedly, and with the reinforcement of comment by *Niles Register*, (a Baltimore paper, almost as widely read on government matters and public affairs): "What business have our vessels of war with diplomatic negotiation?" See Niles' comments on these and other articles, in *Niles Register*, XLII, May 19, 1832, p. 211.

abundantly able to pay, that it was every week amortizing portions of its public debt, and that for that purpose, the appropriation had recently been doubled. In any case, Mr. Nelson made it perfectly clear that if the real motive for declining an arrangement was to be found in the financial condition of the Neapolitan Government, candor required that the refusal to pay should, in their official correspondence, be placed upon its true ground.

At this point, Mr. Nelson was informed that the King had gone on a visit to Abruzzi whence he was not expected to return before August 3 or 4. On July 25, 1832, however the *Brandywine* and *Constellation* came into the port of Naples. The consequence was that an express was despatched to His Majesty, who returned to Naples two days later. The point was, as Mr. Nelson learned later, that, upon the occasion, great uneasiness was felt and vigorous preparations were made for the defence of the city, which its inhabitants had the weakness to suppose was about to be attacked. However, the ships sailed after a few days, and the alarm subsided with their departure.

On September 11, Mr. Nelson received the long-expected instructions from Secretary of State Livingston. The following day, September 12, 1832, in a strong note addressed to the Prince of Cassaro, Mr. Nelson complained that the promise had not been redeemed. More than two months had elapsed since the date of his earlier note, and the assurances tendered remained unfulfilled. Therefore, Mr. Nelson was being forced to write again. Mr. Nelson repeated that neither the dignity of the Government of the United States, nor the duty it owed to its citizens, would justify or sanction submission to further delay. He was, therefore, especially instructed to demand an explicit answer to the following inquiry: "Will the Government of Naples render satisfaction for the seizures and confiscations made by the Neapolitan Government during the reign of Murat, of the property of American citizens; and take measures for the prompt and full payment of the same?" In his note, Mr. Nelson added that he had been further instructed to apprise the Neapolitan Government that the frigate *United States* then in the port of Naples, had been despatched to receive the answer to this specific demand; that the frigate would wait for it twenty days; and if at the expiration of that time, a satisfactory reply was not given, and proper provision made for the payment of the claims preferred, he was

directed to ask for his passports to return to the United States, when it devolved on the President to take such measures for the vindication of the rights of his fellow citizens as his constitutional duties directed.

Upon the receipt of this note the Prince of Cassaro immediately invited Mr. Nelson to a conference. In this, as in the previous conferences, Mr. Nelson earnestly endeavoured to impress the Neapolitan Government, with a just sense of the importance of an immediate adjustment of the differences between the two governments, and at one time, indulged the hope that the object of his mission would be satisfactorily arranged.

On October 2, 1832, Mr. Nelson regretted to inform Secretary of State Livingston that he had been disappointed in this expectation. With an avowal of its willingness to settle the American claims, the Neapolitan Government, on October 1, assumed such grounds in regard to the indemnity, as to constrain Mr. Nelson to put an end to the negotiation. Accordingly, Mr. Nelson demanded his passports. The largest sum offered by the Prince of Cassaro fell so far short of his demands, as to justify the belief that the Neapolitan Government had never sincerely contemplated an amicable arrangement.

In a note dated October 2, 1832,²³ the Prince of Cassaro informed Mr. Nelson that he was sending him herewith a passport agreeable to his request. However, the Prince of Cassaro added, by order of the King, that although the American chargé d'affaires thought it proper to quit the country, yet the Neapolitan Government did not consider the negotiation terminated, especially since His Majesty, actuated by that spirit of conciliation, which formed so distinguishing a trait in his character, had conceived certain propositions, which being similar to those agreed upon in the late convention, between France and the United States, seemed likely to accommodate the existing differences. Urged by a sincere desire to maintain and strengthen his amicable relations with the United States and to dispel the existing difficulties, His Majesty was determined to bring the affair in question to a conclusion, and as the departure of Mr. Nelson would render that impossible in Naples, His Majesty had decided to send immediately to the United States a diplomatic agent furnished with proper instruc-

²³ This note is published in Senate Document No. 70, pp. 53-54.

tions and with the power necessary for making a treaty, and thus ending the negotiations begun in Naples.

Suddenly and unexpectedly the Neapolitan Government decided to come to an agreement on the American claims. In Despatch No. 11, to Mr. Livingston, dated October 8, 1832,²⁴ Mr. Nelson stated that since the receipt of the above note from the Prince of Cassaro, he had been occupied in the business of bringing the negotiation to an issue, highly favorable, he thought, to the interests of the American claimants. Mr. Nelson made no specific mention as to what actually transpired, but he stated that the treaty was then being prepared and would be signed within a day or two. By this agreement, according to Mr. Nelson's despatch, the Neapolitan Government stipulated the payment of two millions, one hundred and fifteen thousand Neapolitan ducats, in installments, with interest. The sum of 7,675 ducats part thereof was to be applied to reimburse the United States Government for the expenses incurred by it in the transportation of American seamen from the Kingdom in 1810, and the residue was to be distributed among the claimants in such a manner and according to such rules as the United States Government might prescribe. This sum, Mr. Nelson believed, very nearly covered the principal of all the just and well founded claims. Mr. Hammett, who was quite familiar with the whole subject, thought it quite sufficient to satisfy them all. Mr. Nelson acknowledged that the entire negotiation had been a very arduous one to him; but, he added, if the result proved satisfactory to the Government of the United States, he would find in its approbation, a full remuneration for the toils and vexations to which he had been exposed during its progress.

Soon after the treaty had been signed, Mr. Nelson left Naples to return to the United States. He sailed on the *Concord*, and arrived at Portsmouth, on December 5, 1832, after what he described as a "boisterous" and a very uncomfortable passage.²⁵

²⁴ This Despatch No. 11 is published in Senate Document No. 70, p. 54.

²⁵ The *Concord* reached Portsmouth too late to enable the President in his annual message of December 3rd to announce that the treaty had been concluded, although the text of that message reveals that he anticipated that such would soon occur. In a further message of December 17, the President communicated to the Senate the text of the Convention. A rare printed copy of this text, alone, is found in the Archives of the Senate, together with the manuscript copy that was sent by the State Department to the President, and by him with his message and bearing in pencil the evidence of how the text was assigned to the printer's typesetters. This printed text (treaty alone) bears the legend, "Convention between the Government

He had suffered so much during the voyage that he felt quite indisposed on arrival. In fact, his exhaustion and fatigue obliged him to stop at Boston where he had the opportunity to talk to several of the claimants who assured him that they were "entirely" satisfied with the result of the negotiation. One of the claimants had told him that the sum secured in the settlement was more than sufficient to pay the principal of just claims, by 20 per cent. Mr. Nelson had every reason to feel highly pleased with his success in concluding the convention.²⁰

of the United States of America and His Majesty the King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, 22d Cong. 2nd Sess. Confidential No. 3. In the Senate of the United States, Dec. 17, 1832. Read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in confidence for the use of the Senate. (This pamphlet, two pages, is found in the United States National Archives, Executive and Legislative Records Division, Senate, Class 22B-B7, Two Sicilies.)

On December 31, the Senate, by Resolution at the instance of Mr. Forsyth, of the Foreign Relations Committee, called for all the correspondence pertaining to the Convention, and also for the Instructions which had been sent to Mr. Nelson. On January 14th, President Jackson complied with this request, but added an emphatic caution that in this correspondence there were "confidential reports concerning the Neapolitan officers, which were never meant for the public eye, and that might if printed, accidentally find their way abroad and thereby embarrass our ministers in their future operations in foreign countries." Further, the President recommended "such discrimination be made as to avoid that inconvenience." See, United States: Convention United States and the Two Sicilies. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a copy of a convention between the United States and the King of the Two Sicilies. Jan. 24, 1833, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. United States Executive Documents No. 69. House of Representatives, 22nd Congress 2nd Session, II, 2 pp). The Senate receiving this message on the 16th of January, proceeded on the 19th of January to "advise and consent to the ratification of the convention." (Thirty-nine senators concurred. See, *Senate Executive Journal*, IV, 301.)

United States President. *Message from the President of the United States transmitting copies of a convention between the United States and the King of the two Sicilies, respecting depredations inflicted upon American commerce.* 23d Congress, 1st Session, 1833-34, House of Representatives. Executive Document, No. 414. House.

United States President. *Message from the President of the United States transmitting a copy of the convention between the United States and the King of the Two Sicilies.* Jan. 23, 1833, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. 22d Congress, 2d Session, Executive Document No. 60, House, v. 2, p. 2. This document contains the text of the convention.

United States President. *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the commencement of the first session of the twenty-third Congress.* Dec. 3, 1833, 23d Congress, 1st session, I, No. 1, p. 7. United States Senate. Documents relating to the convention with Sicily, Feb. 9, 1833. 22d Congress, 2d Session, Senate Document 70, 34 pp.

²⁰ Commodore Daniel T. Patterson (1786-1839), too, was elated, especially since he felt that he had also contributed to its success. Writing to his superior officer, the Secretary of the Navy, on October 13 (note this date was the day before the treaty was signed), Commodore Patterson said: "It is admitted by Mr. Nelson that the appearance of the Squadron in this bay had great effect in producing so favorable a result." (United States Navy Records, in United States National Archives, *Letters, Officers: Captains' Letters: Patterson to Woodbury*, Oct. 13, 1832. For contrasting comment in the *American Annual Register*, 1832, and in the

On January 11, 1833, Secretary of State Livingston asked Mr. Nelson whether he would be willing to return to Naples in the same character in which he had gone there first. The immediate object was the exchange of ratifications of the treaty which he had "so ably negotiated."²⁷ However, Mr. Livingston added that it was to be considered as a continuance of the same mission, and, of course, no outfit was allowed. So far as can be determined Mr. Nelson did not reply to the communication in writing, although he may have discussed it with the Secretary of State. The fact is that Mr. Nelson did not return to Naples.

On March 2, 1833, Mr. Nelson wrote, from Frederick, Md., to Mr. Livingston stating that Mr. Forsyth²⁸ had been kind enough to forward to him, that day, a copy of the document touching the

London *Globe*, see Perrotta, *op. cit.*, 71-72. From 1832 to 1836 Patterson commanded the Mediterranean Squadron after which he was, until his death commandant of the Navy Yard at Washington, D.C. See *Dictionary American Biography*, XIV, 301.

²⁷ The Senate having passed upon the treaty officially, and the House of Representatives having implemented it in due course on March 2, the matter of the exchange of ratifications proceeded under the orders issued on January 29, 1833, to Auguste Davezac, United States Minister to the Hague, who was directed to proceed to Naples and attend to the securing of the ratification by the Neapolitan King, in exchange for the ratification signed by the President of the United States. This took place on June 8, 1833, but not until this signed document had been delivered to the President did he issue, on August 27, 1833, his Proclamation of the text of the treaty, with the statement that it was from that date in force. This proclamation text, for the first time gave both the English and the Italian texts, in parallel columns.

Eleven months later, on May 13, 1834, the President again communicated to Congress "copies of a convention . . . to terminate the reclamations . . . for the depredation upon American commerce by Murat. . . ." The text, both in English and Italian, of the convention as proclaimed, was incorporated in this Message of the 13th of May, as communicated on the 14th. Thus was closed, so far as the United States was concerned, the long cycle of official procedure required to create its share in the birth of a new item in international law. From the point of view of the claimants, however, the matter was still far from closed, for there remained still the work of the Board of Commissioners, appointed under the Act of March 2, 1833, and the long and tedious process of supporting and adjudicating the individual claims, all of which had to be brought within the total amount of the indemnity agreed to in the convention. For a general account of that process, see Miller, *op. cit.*, III, 718-721. For a list of the individual awards, of which there were some 275 approved, see House Document 242, 24th Congress, 1st Session, Letter from the Secretary of State, in compliance with a Resolution of the House the 23d instant, letter dated April 27, 1836. For further details, as to the international financing of the payments from the Neapolitan Government and the measures used to protect the interest of the claimants in the devious transactions of international exchange, see Senate Document 351, 25th Congress, 2d Session, Report of the Secretary of the Treasury. In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 16th of February last, in relation to the payment of the French and Neapolitan indemnities, dated March 30, 1838, read and ordered to be printed.

²⁸ John Forsyth was, at this time, chairman of the Senate's foreign affairs committee.

convention with the King of the Two Sicilies, printed by the Senate's order.²⁹ Upon referring to it, Mr. Nelson discovered that it contained three of his notes to Prince Cassaro, one of which and that the most important, dated June 29, 1832, "had been so inaccurately printed as completely to disfigure the argument it was designed to present." There was scarcely a paragraph, or sentence, he added, into which some error had not crept. In this form, Mr. Nelson felt that it was certainly calculated to do him great injustice with the public. He hoped, therefore, that it could be corrected, since he assumed that they were attributable to the negligence of the press. It was mortifying to him, he confessed, that this note which he had certainly prepared with some labor, should go to the public in the mangled condition, in which this document presented it.

Upon the receipt of Mr. Nelson's letter, Mr. Livingston examined the document and found that Mr. Nelson's note had been "wretchedly mangled" in the printing. However, since Congress had already adjourned, Mr. Livingston could only publish the errata in a newspaper. This, he admitted, was a very imperfect way of correcting the evil, but it was the only one that occurred to him, and he was determined to have it done if Mr. Nelson desired it.

In his reply to Mr. Livingston, dated March 16, 1833, Mr. Nelson stated that the errors in the printed document were so numerous and important, as to render it impossible to correct them, by the mere indication of them, as errata in the newspapers. Besides, Mr. Nelson added, the Secretary of State was aware that in the form this note had assumed, unless something was done to prevent it, it would be bound up in the public documents, a fact which would do him lasting injustice. Mr. Nelson insisted that the note, as published, was not the note he had presented to the

²⁹ There was passed on February 9, 1833 (*Senate Journal*, IV, Appendix, 286; *Senate Executive Journal*, p. 30) an "order to remove from the seal of secrecy and to be printed the following documents communicated to the Senate on the 16th of January in compliance with a resolution of the 31st of December:

"Instructions of the Secretary of State to Mr. Nelson, Nos. 2, and 5, of 27th October 1831 and 11th June 1832;

"The correspondence between Mr. Nelson and the Prince of Cassaro, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, viz.:

"Letters of Mr. Nelson dated 31st January, 27th February, 29th June, 1832.

"Letter of the Prince of Cassaro dated 30th May 1832.

"Despatches Nos. 10 and 11, of Mr. Nelson to the State Department, dated the 2d and 8th October 1832;

"And that they be printed for the use of the Senate."

Neapolitan Government, and he felt that it was due to him as well as to the public that a paper, professing to proceed from the Government, should not be permitted to remain before the country in the mangled condition, in which the Senate's document then presented it. If it could not be otherwise corrected, Mr. Nelson felt constrained to cause it to be reprinted at his own expense.³⁰

³⁰ The question as to what printed text Forsyth actually showed to Nelson, that which Nelson made the basis of his charges in this letter of March 2d, leads to interesting facts about the printing procedures of the time in regard to congressional documents. Investigation of the original records, and comparison of these with the various printed versions, shows that the texts of the treaty (as at various stages of the negotiations and subsequent consideration in Congress, in both Senate and House, as well as when finally proclaimed by the President and subsequently so reported to Congress) were separate publications of the treaty text alone. The story of the publication of the correspondence regarding the convention with the Two Sicilies is as follows, and the dates involved are to be carefully noted:

The letters whose text Nelson complains, on March 2d, had been "inaccurately printed" were those he had enclosed with his Despatch No. 13, and which, arriving with himself on the *Concord*, at Portsmouth, approximately December 5, 1832, had also been among those Notes, Despatches, etc. which the President, on January 14th, 1833, in compliance with a Resolution of December 31st, had communicated to the Senate, and were by the Senate, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations; on January 19, the Senate had voted to "advise and consent to the ratification of the convention"; on January 24, the President had communicated the treaty, minus any of the correspondence, to the House, which, having had the matter under advisement in its own Committee on Foreign Affairs had brought forth the implementing Act of March 2, 1833, providing for the appointment of a Board of Commissioners to adjudicate the claims.

When the President communicated the letters to the Senate, he had been at some pains to caution that ". . . they are written by the agents of the United States to their own government with a freedom, as far as relates to the officers of that of Naples, which was never intended for the public eye, and as they might, if printed, accidentally find their way abroad and thereby embarrass our ministers in their future operations in foreign countries, I respectfully recommend that in printing, if deemed necessary, such a discrimination be made as to avoid that inconvenience, preferring this course to withholding from the Senate any part of the correspondence." See Message of January 14, communicated January 16. No order to print the correspondence at all is found at this time.

Of February 9, however, and while the House was considering what form the implementing Act should take (the Act passed March 2), the Senate, on motion of Mr. Forsyth, ordered the removal of the seal of secrecy on certain specified documents in this correspondence, and ordered them to be printed "for the use of the Senate." This phrase, in those days, usually meant the printing of a small "separate" issue, sometimes specified as to number, usually 100 copies, which were in the nature of "working copies" for Senators' use during the discussions on the floor or in committee. Of such a nature may have been the copy shown to Nelson which prompted his protest letter of March 2, to Secretary of State Livingston, especially since on March 16, Nelson referred to it as not yet "bound up in the public documents."

In the form actually "bound up" we find the same set of letters listed as is mentioned in both the *Senate Journal* (IV, Appendix, 286) and in the *Senate Executive Journal* (page 30), under date of February 9, in both cases, in the order to "remove secrecy" and "to print." Thus "bound up" these letters comprise Senate Document No. 70, of the 22d Congress, 2d Session, "for the use of the Senate," 54 pp. This writer has not been able to locate a copy of the printed versions to

Mr. Duff Green,³¹ the Senate's printer, to whom Mr. Nelson had referred the matter, blamed the Department of State for the errors.

which Nelson took such severe exception; nor has he been able to discover any evidence, to date, either in printed form or in the original documents in the United States National Archives, that any "separate" (as hypothetically assumed might have existed, and have been the one handed Nelson by Forsyth) ever existed. That it may have existed, and having been found to have been full of errors, thereupon recalled from (or never have reached the hands of) the Senators is another possibility within the general pattern of printing difficulties of that day.

Careful comparison of the Nelson Notes to Cassaro, especially that of June 29, 1832, of which he most vehemently protested its misprinting, shows that the printed version in Senate Document 70, as found "bound up" in the public documents series, and bearing the labels of the Senate Chamber and the Senate Library, varies scarcely at all even in spelling and punctuation, and not at all materially in phrases or meaning, from the original of that note comprising Enclosure B, with Nelson's Despatch No. 13. Reference, further, to the texts of this Note to Cassaro, as sent with the President's Message (and therefore originating as copies made in the State Department for the President's transmitting to the Senate) shows that these texts also, which are the ones sent to the printer and bear the printer's endorsements of names of his typesetters who were to handle the several sections of this printing job, agree, virtually verbatim, with Nelson's own Despatch No. 13, Enclosure B, and similarly for other letters of which Nelson complained as to their misprinting. The only color given by this file to the possibility that these letters went twice to the printer, is the fact that two manuscript copies of them are found in Senate, Class 22B-B7, and that the printers' names endorsed thereon, in assigning the work, appear to be different on the two sets of the letters in question. But mystery remains, owing to the further fact that both these sets of the manuscript letters (those from which the seal of secrecy was removed on February 9, as above cited) are as virtually verbatim, to the Nelson enclosures with his No. 13, as are the same letters found in the "bound up public documents" in Senate Document 70. Therefore, unless and until, and if ever possible now after passage of more than a century an actual "separate" printing of the letters, on Senate order (there was only the one order, that of February 9, cited above) turns up from some obscure pamphlet collection, perhaps still personally owned, there will be no way of knowing just what, in detail, were those "errors in printing" which Nelson on March 16, 1833, claimed, with particular reference to the Note to Cassaro of June 29, 1832, was "not the note presented by me to the Neapolitan Government," and that in this Note "there is not a paragraph in the printed document which does not misrepresent me . . . the more remarkable as all other portions of the Document have been printed with unusual accuracy." The printing of documents in loose pamphlet form, preliminarily, and then, with same title page, but sometimes altered text (due to official action meanwhile) has been known to occur in the ordinary course of procedure. This occurred, without change of text, in the case of the Treaty text itself, as sent to the Senate, December 17, 1832, and could have similarly occurred in the case of these Despatches and Notes "released" for publication on February 9, 1833. No other explanation seems logical, for the allegations in Nelson's letters of March 2, and March 16, and since the copy Nelson criticized was handed him by the chairman of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Forsyth, it is also reasonable to suppose, that none of the misprinted copies were ever put into the hands of the senators. In this supposed case, the entire issue may possibly have been destroyed, a reprint correctly made, and that then, the form found as Senate Document No. 70, of the 22d Congress, 2d Session "for the use of the Senate," ordered printed February 9, 1833, may have been the only version, in print, that ever was in any way really circulated. At this late date, the problem involved here is of small moment, but the attempt to ascertain the facts is enlightening as to printing procedures of that early period, and as to how supposedly justified protest over inaccuracies of printing could be handled with as much aplomb as were international affairs.

³¹ Duff Green was at this date one of the public printers in Washington. The

Nevertheless, Mr. Nelson felt confident that the errors were attributable exclusively to the carelessness of Mr. Green's office. Mr. Nelson regretted having to trouble the Secretary of State on the subject, but he felt that the errors were such that, if uncorrected, were calculated to prejudice him before the public. There was not a paragraph in the printed document, he reiterated, which did not misrepresent him, insofar as the note of June 29 was concerned.³² This was the more remarkable, he concluded, as all other portions of the document were printed with unusual accuracy.

But let us go back to the treaty³³ which Mr. Nelson was able to conclude so ably. No papers accompanied the convention when it was sent to the United States Senate with the presidential message of December 17, 1832.³⁴ However, in response to a Senate resolution requesting all the relevant correspondence,³⁵ the documents were transmitted with the following presidential message of January 16, 1833:³⁶

In conformity with a resolution of the Senate of the 31st December last, I herewith transmit copies of the instructions under which the late treaty of indemnity with Naples was negotiated, and of all the correspondence relative thereto.

It will appear evident from a perusal of some of those documents that they are written by the agents of the United States to their own Government with a freedom as far as relates to the officers of that of Naples which was never intended for the public eye, and as they might, if printed, accidentally find their way abroad and thereby embarrass our ministers in their future operations in foreign countries, I respectfully recommend that in the printing, if deemed necessary, such a discrimination be made as to

print of Senate Document 70, containing the letters in question, as found, in the Public Documents Series, does not individually bear the printer's name; but the title page to the whole volume, Serial 230, from Senate Chamber Library, and now in the United States National Archives, bears the imprint "Printed by Duff Green, 1832." This date is governed by the date of beginning of the Second Session of the 22d Congress; the dates of the individual documents contained in the volume are indicated on their several title pages; that for Senate Document 70 being February 9, 1833. The title there used was "Documents relating to the Convention with Sicily." The treaty text is not included therein.

³² This was Nelson's master effort in striving to achieve the signing of the treaty—his long discourse on points of the "law of nations" involved in this case of the Murat spoiliations. Compare Enclosure B text, with that of printed Senate Document 70, 22d Congress, 2d Session, February 9, 1833.

³³ For the text of the treaty and accompanying notes see Miller, *op. cit.*, III, 711-721.

³⁴ *Executive Journal*, IV, 286.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 292-93.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 300.

avoid that inconvenience, preferring this course to withholding from the Senate any part of the correspondence.

Some of these papers were printed and the injunction of secrecy removed therefrom.³⁷

The convention was communicated to Congress with the presidential message of January 24, 1833.³⁸ The act to carry the convention into effect was passed on March 2, 1833,³⁹ which, while after the date of ratification by the United States, was prior to the going into force of the convention, as the ratifications were not exchanged at Naples until June 8, 1833. Therefore, the convention was again communicated to Congress with the presidential message of March 13, 1834.⁴⁰

Since Mr. Nelson had nothing to do with the actual settlement of the claims, the story of his mission to Naples ends with the actual ratification of the treaty. Students who wish to study further the claims settled by this convention and their origin and the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to examine the American claims pursuant to the act of March 2, 1833 (4 Statutes at Large, 666-67), and to Article 1 of the convention, are referred to Moore's *International Arbitrations*.⁴¹

The proceedings of the board of Commissioners lasted about eighteen months—from September 19, 1833, to March 17, 1835, when their report was made. The total of the awards made by the Commissioners, including 20 percent for interest amounted to \$1,925,034.68.⁴² A list of the awards made was published in House Document No. 242.⁴³

Taking the Neapolitan ducat as the equivalent of 83 cents, the total amount of the indemnity (without interest), 2,115,000 Neapolitan ducats, would be \$1,755,450.⁴⁴ At the same rate of ex-

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 309. That print, bearing the date February 9, 1833, is marked Senate Document No. 70, 22nd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 230.

³⁸ Richardson, *op. cit.*, II, 633.

³⁹ 4 Statutes at Large, 666-67.

⁴⁰ Richardson, *op. cit.*, III, 50.

⁴¹ Volume V, 4575-4589. The rules, established during the sixth session of the Board of Commissioners, were published on January 24, 1835, in the form of "principles governing the making of the awards." They may be found in J. B. Moore, *op. cit.*, V, 4585. The final report of the Commissioners, dated March 17, 1835, is given in Moore, *op. cit.*, 4581-4589.

⁴² Moore, *op. cit.*, 4581-4589.

⁴³ 24th Congress, 1st session, Serial No. 291.

⁴⁴ Moore, *op. cit.*, 4581.

change the amount set aside for the expenses of the American Government: 7,679 ducats, would be \$6,373.57.

The nine annual instalments of this indemnity of 235,000 ducats each were, by the terms of the convention, payable at Naples on June 8 of each year from 1834 to 1842, inclusive, with interest:— including the interest at 4 per cent, the total was 2,538,000 ducats, the instalments (with the interest) ranging from 319,600 ducats in 1834 to 244,400 in 1842.

The nine instalments were duly paid, papers showing in detail the collection of the first four instalments (from 1834 to 1837, inclusive) through bankers in Paris, are in Senate Document No. 351.⁴⁵ The total amount of these instalments, as received at the Treasury after deduction of expenses, was \$995,965.62.⁴⁶ The figures of the total receipts and expenditures under the convention are in Senate Document No. 38.⁴⁷ The receipts for the nine instalments, up to and including the amount reaching the Treasury in 1843, totalled \$2,049,033.12. The sum received for the expenses of the American Government was \$235.34.

After the going into force of this convention efforts were made by the Neapolitan Government to reach an agreement with the Government of the United States for a lump-sum payment in lieu of the annual instalments. The first offer to commute the payments (at a discount of 24 per cent) was made under date of December 14, 1833, even before the first instalment was due.⁴⁸ In 1834 and 1835 there followed considerable correspondence between the Secretary of State and Domenico Morelli, the Consul General of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.⁴⁹ The United States Government at first declined to enter into any such arrangement, on the ground that it had no authority to do so "without the assent of those individuals entitled to share the indemnity"⁵⁰ and on March 3, 1835, an "act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to compromise the claims allowed by the commissioners under the treaty with the King of the Two Sicilies, concluded

⁴⁵ 25th Congress, 2d session, Serial 317.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 75-76.

⁴⁷ 44th Congress, 2nd session, Serial 1720, pp. 59, 104.

⁴⁸ Department of State, 1 Despatches, Italy: Naples, No. 6, Jan. 20, 1834, enclosure.

⁴⁹ Department of State, 1 Notes from the Neapolitan Legation; 5 Notes to Foreign Legations.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 197, March 17, 1834. See also Richardson, *op. cit.*, III, 98.

October 14, 1832," failed to become a law because of the veto of President Jackson, who stated his reasons in his message as follows:

I respectfully return to the Senate, where it originated, the "act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to compromise the claims allowed by the commissioners under the treaty with the King of the Two Sicilies, concluded October 14, 1832," without my signature.

This act is, in my judgment, inconsistent with the division of powers in the Constitution of the United States, as it is obviously founded on the assumption that an act of Congress can give power to the Executive or to the head of one of the Departments to negotiate with a foreign government. The debt due by the King of the Two Sicilies will, after the commissioners have made their decision, become the private vested property of the citizens of the United States to whom it may be awarded. Neither the Executive nor the Legislature can properly interfere with it without their consent. With their consent the Executive has competent authority to negotiate about it for them with a foreign government—an authority Congress cannot constitutionally abridge or increase."⁵¹

On December 23, 1835, the Consul General of the Two Sicilies communicated to the Secretary of State documents stated to contain the consents and signatures of most of the claimants interested in the convention of indemnification with the Two Sicilies with regard to a single payment of 1,500,000 Neapolitan ducats in the month of February 1836, in lieu of the seven instalments, aggregating 1,645,000 ducats principal, which then remained to be paid. Five days earlier (December 19, 1835) Signor Morelli had communicated an extract from his instructions, as evidencing his power to treat; these were rather vague as to the amount of reduction authorized to be accepted. Although a definite agreement was signed on December 26, 1835,⁵² it was not approved by the Government of the Two Sicilies. On May 16, 1836, Secretary of State Forsyth was informed of this action by a note from Consul General Morelli.⁵³ The note merely stated that the King could not approve the revised project of December 26, 1835, since he had already issued a decree by which he ordered the immediate

⁵¹ Richardson, *op. cit.*, III, 146. Meanwhile on June 8, 1835, the second instalment had become due and was promptly paid. This left 1,645,000 ducats of the original indemnity. President Jackson saw fit to include a word of praise for Naples' promptness in payment in his seventh annual message to Congress, December 7, 1835. "The instalments," he said, "due under the convention with the King of the Two Sicilies have been paid with that scrupulous fidelity by which his whole conduct has been characterized." Richardson, *op. cit.*, III, 149.

⁵² Treaty Series No. 362.

⁵³ Department of State, 1 Notes from the Neapolitan Legation.

payment to the Government of the United States of four-fifths ($\frac{4}{5}$) of the sum agreed upon in the convention of 1832, if the persons interested in the claims preferred to abbreviate the terms of the convention. Therefore, Mr. Morelli added, his Government proposed to continue to pay the annual installments with the respective interests, and if the claimants desired to receive quickly the balance of four-fifths, which according to an enclosed statement amounted to 1,222,000 ducats, they had only to demand it from the Royal Neapolitan Treasury through the agents of the United States.

A new proposal of the Government of the Two Sicilies was submitted, but this offer came after the payment of the third instalment of the indemnity with interest, to commute the remaining six instalments, or 1,410,000 ducats, for a single payment of 987,000 ducats, a reduction of only 30 per cent. The answering note of Secretary of State Forsyth of May 24, 1836,⁵⁴ made no reference to that new proposal, but referred only to the statements that the convention of December 26, 1835,⁵⁵ had not been approved by the Government of the Two Sicilies and that the third instalment of the indemnity would be paid with interest on the following June 8. The payments of the indemnity accordingly proceeded pursuant to the terms of the convention of October 14, 1832, and were made in each year up to 1842, when the ninth instalment was paid.

⁵⁴ Department of State, 6 Notes to Legations of Italian States, 18.

⁵⁵ This agreement had been printed in various treaty collections without mentioning the fact that it had not been approved by the Neapolitan Government.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND THE MARYLAND GAZETTE

By ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE

Students of early Maryland literature are indebted to Benjamin Franklin for preserving the first three numbers of "The Plain-Dealer," a series of essays initially published in the *Maryland Gazette*. Had it not been for Franklin, these essays would probably have been lost forever. The earliest issue of the *Maryland Gazette* now known to exist is No. 65, December 3-10, 1728, which contains the fourth number of "The Plain-Dealer."¹ Franklin preserved nine numbers of "The Plain-Dealer" (the first three of which are unavailable elsewhere) by reprinting them in his own newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, along with some poetry and other items from the *Maryland Gazette*.

"The Plain-Dealer" essays are significant primarily because of their outspoken deism in a period which scholars have regarded as almost uniformly orthodox.² They are among the first openly deistical works to be printed in America, and they may even have the distinction of being the first.³ These essays are interesting moreover, because of the insight they give into colonial journalism. The first two numbers in particular discuss style and editorial policies. The poetry which Franklin reprinted has less

¹ A photostat set of all the known issues of the *Maryland Gazette* was made in 1925 by the John Carter Brown Library. A list of the libraries holding this set is found in Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820* (Worcester, 1947), I, 219.

² No adequate study of the beginnings of deism in America has yet been made. Merle Curti in his *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), p. 110, tells us that by 1740 deism was winning recognition, but, on the other hand, John Wesley regarded it as startling that in 1737 he should discover a man in Savannah with brashness enough openly to avow himself a deist. Herbert M. Morais, *Deism in Eighteenth Century America* (New York, 1934), mentions no American deist before Franklin, and except for Franklin presents no concrete evidence of deism before 1740.

³ They preceded by a few weeks Samuel Keimer's deistical extracts in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* before Franklin became editor. Keimer's deism is discussed by C. E. Jorgenson in "A Brand Flung at Colonial Orthodoxy. Samuel Keimer's 'Universal Instructor in All Arts and Sciences,'" *Journalism Quarterly*, XII (September, 1935), 272-77.

historical significance, but it is of interest to twentieth-century readers because of its power to evoke some of the color of the colonial period.

In the colonies as well as in England, editors enlivened the sometimes dull and scantily-supplied columns of their newspapers with bright literary essays modelled on the plan of the *Spectator* papers of Addison and Steele. Franklin had contributed a series known as "The Dogood Papers" to his brother's newspaper, the *New England Courant*, in 1722, and a shorter series, "The Busy-Body," in 1729 to Andrew Bradford's *American Weekly Mercury* in Philadelphia. One might think that he would have continued this literary activity in his own newspaper, but when he acquired control of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in September, 1729, he confined himself at first to news and materials printed at second-hand from other sources. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* was established December 24, 1728, by Samuel Keimer, a little more than a year after the *Maryland Gazette* appeared, the first number of which was printed by William Parks, it is believed, on September 19, 1727.⁴ For at least the first year after Franklin became editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, there appeared not a single article which can be conclusively identified as Franklin's, and Franklin at no time wrote for the *Gazette* a series comparable to the "Dogood Papers" or "The Busy-Body." Instead he contented himself with reprinting the first nine numbers of "The Plain-Dealer" from the *Maryland Gazette*.⁵

Franklin was undoubtedly attracted by the deism of "The Plain-Dealer" and by the prospect of printing a series of essays designed particularly for the benefit of colonial readers. He had witnessed the appeal of indigenous literature with the success of his "Dogoods" and "Busy-Bodies" and perhaps thought that the "Plain Dealers" would be even more favorably received. He also found in the "Plain-Dealers" a favorite doctrine of his own—the superiority of works in English over those in the classical languages.

"The Plain-Dealers" are ostensibly essays sent to the editor

⁴ Brigham, *op. cit.*, I, 219.

⁵ We do not know the dates on which the first three numbers of "The Plain Dealer" appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, but the last seven appeared December 3, 10, 17, 31, 1728; January 7, 14, February 4, 1728/29. The first nine "Plain-Dealers" appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* April 2, 9, 23, May 7, 14, 28, June 4, 11, 25, 1730.

by a correspondent. Possibly this is their actual source, but they may very well have been written by the editor of the *Maryland Gazette* himself, William Parks. It was customary in eighteenth-century journalism for editors to write letters to themselves under various pseudonyms.

William Parks, born in England about 1698, served as public printer in Annapolis from 1727 to 1737.⁶ In addition to establishing the *Maryland Gazette*, the first newspaper south of Pennsylvania, he founded the *Williamsburg Virginia Gazette* in 1736. With the encouragement and aid of Franklin, he built in 1743 the first paper mill south of Pennsylvania. Although "The Plain-Dealers," as we shall see, failed to fulfill their promise of fostering indigenous literary activities, Parks as editor did what he could to encourage poetry in the colonies. Richard Lewis, whom I shall discuss later in this article, had at least one of his poems published first by Parks and later by Franklin.

Franklin in reprinting "The Plain-Dealers" represented them at first as original contributions, for whenever the author referred to the *Maryland Gazette*, Franklin substituted *Pennsylvania Gazette*. After the last essay that he reprinted, however, Franklin added the note:

The foregoing nine Plain-Dealers were written by a Gentleman in Maryland, and first published there, in the *Maryland Gazette*; they have only suffered some trivial alterations, which were necessary to make them suitable for a Publication here.

The Plain-Dealer in his first essay suggests that the readers of the *Gazette* be given, in addition to colonial and foreign news, abstracts from good authors "to inspire them with a Love for sound and close Reasoning, from such Principles only, as are evidently true." By this means, they will be made acquainted with "the Employments of the polite, as well as the busy Part of their Species; with Matters antient and modern, natural, civil, and religious, with Things domestick and publick, with animate and inanimate Nature." Most important of all, readers will be led "into a Knowledge of themselves" by being excited "diligently to observe and study the Operations of their own Minds." The wide acquaintance with men and things which will be imparted will secure every man henceforth from "perpetual Admira-

* *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 250-251.

tions and Surprizes, and guard him against that Weakness of ignorant Persons, who having never seen any thing beyond the narrow confines of their own Dwellings, wonder at every thing that is new or strange to them." This knowledge may be imparted without tedious study, moreover, since literary works may be interspersed in the columns of the gazette throughout the year. The editor himself need not be at any trouble in learning difficult languages to acquire material since English authors provide a sufficient storehouse of learning and amusement, for "many Persons, from a good Choice of *English* Authors, with the Assistance of their own natural Parts, reason and discourse more pertinently on many weighty Topicks, than several pompous Scholars who are Masters of the learned Languages, and have read over many bulky Folios of Science; the Result of all their ill-digested Studies having furnished them with little more than the Knowledge of what other Men think in controverted Points, and a Habit of magisterially imposing on their Hearers what they themselves do not understand." In keeping with this principle, the Plain-Dealer urged that care be taken to abstract only from writers who expressed themselves in the clearest manner so that persons who have not been trained to use jargon of the schools may be able to philosophize with a moderate application of mind. The editor should not be governed by custom, fashion or party, and should never countenance falsehood. His subscribers, after following such a course of reading, may lay aside the gross prejudices of life for the sake of virtue and truth. This conclusion delicately approaches the theme of some of his later essays—the value of a healthy scepticism about accepting philosophical and religious doctrines.

In his second essay the Plain-Dealer offers to assist the editor in making collections like those described in his first paper. He professes to serve as a collector rather than an author and says that he will not hesitate to transcribe whatever he finds suitable from other sources. This leads him to make a few observations concerning the status of letters in the colonies. It requires resolution and fortitude to set up for an author in a country such as this, he asserts, for the literary man immediately becomes a mark of public censure and ridicule. Men of action, not only in America, but universally, receive the greatest applause from contemporaries, whereas men of speculation receive their due from posterity. These

thoughts are introduced to illustrate "the Difficulty of commencing Author, and the Benefits which a Community may receive from such Persons as are instrumental in raising up a Spirit of Good Sense, and a Desire of Knowledge among its Numbers." The Plain-Dealer concludes with a specific account of the methods he proposes to follow in compiling future essays:

I shall spare for no Pains, to make the Thoughts I publish, agreeable and useful, that those who read them, may at once receive Instruction, and Diversion. Having once for all confessed that these Papers will frequently consist of Collections, the Reader need not expect any further Acknowledgment of that Sort: My chief Ambition is, to convey Knowledge to those who have not Leisure to procure it from Variety of Books; and to lay before the Publick, such Hints, that the Learned themselves may perhaps, by their Means, reflect on what they knew before, and sometimes meet with an *Original Piece*. . . . If I do not name my Authors, it is not to rob them of their Reputation, but to give my critical Readers an Occasion to exert their Judgment upon Stile.

These two essays are important in colonial literature as a manifesto of practical journalism, revealing a short and easy method for writing periodical essays. The chief weakness of the method is that it stifles originality. If the editor collects the best of his reading in some of his columns and presents original material in others, both he and his readers are likely to develop intellectually. If he bases his writing exclusively on his reading or confines himself to extracting from other works, however, only his readers will benefit. The Plain-Dealer followed the latter method in all but these first two papers, as did Franklin in some of his essays for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. In his most successful literary achievements, however, Franklin used original material from his own experience.

In relation to Franklin's later career, the literary manifesto of the Plain-Dealer is most important in insisting on the principle that one may discourse more pertinently on weighty topics by reading English authors than by mastering the learned languages. Throughout his life, Franklin stressed the practical importance of teaching English as opposed to the classical languages, and in his *Observations Relative to the Intentions of the Original Founders of the Academy in Philadelphia* (1788), he took a position much like that of the Plain-Dealer, arguing that with the development of cheap printing all branches of knowledge came to be communi-

cated by the common tongues. Hence Franklin regarded the still prevailing custom of providing schools of Latin and Greek "in no other light than as the *Chapeau bras* of modern Literature."⁷

We do not know whether the Plain-Dealer ever carried out his purpose of creating original pieces, for all of the other numbers preserved are copied almost verbatim from an English periodical *The Free-Thinker*, published in London from 1718 to 1721. Franklin was probably unaware that he was using material at third hand, and, so far as I know, the English source of *The Plain-Dealer* has not been noted before the present article.⁸

The emphasis in the only two original essays on the capacities of the ordinary man in opposition to the pompous learning of pedants was a deistical tendency, and in the subsequent essays extracted from *The Free-Thinker*, particularly those on philosophical doubting, the Plain-Dealer converted this tendency toward deism into an outspoken advocacy of its essential principles. That deism was likely to offend colonial communities has already been widely noticed. Perhaps Maryland was less sensitive on this score than the other colonies, although Franklin himself did his share of proselytizing for deism in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. He reprinted several essays from the *London Journal* with Shaftesburian and Hutchesonian principles as well as openly advised free enquiry on all hands by reprinting "The Plain-Dealer's" (or "Free Thinker's") comments on philosophical doubting.⁹

Some discussion of these essays is necessary to explain their appeal to William Parks, the publisher of the *Maryland Gazette*, and to Franklin. Captious critics may otherwise accuse them of

⁷ A. H. Smyth, ed., *Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1907), X, 34.

⁸ Elizabeth G. Cook in *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers, 1704-1750* (New York, 1912), a work which is not very reliable on either the *Maryland Gazette* or on Franklin, discovered that the fourth number was taken from "The Free-Thinker," but she apparently discovered this without leafing through the rest of the periodical; had she done so she would have found the source of the other "Plain-Dealers" (Nos. 3-10).

⁹ Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury, combined Platonism and deism in his *Characteristics* (London, 1711), a work which was widely known as "the deists' Bible." It was instrumental in converting Franklin to deism and even favorably impressed Ezra Stiles before he became aware of its heterodox tendencies. Francis Hutcheson, one of Shaftesbury's most distinguished disciples, based his *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (London, 1725) on the esthetic theories of Shaftesbury. The *London Journal*, to which Hutcheson contributed, frequently expressed Shaftesburian ethical concepts. For Franklin's relations to the *London Journal*, see A. O. Aldridge, "Franklin's 'Shaftesburian' Dialogues Not Franklin's. A Revision of the Franklin Canon," soon to appear in *American Literature*.

bad judgment. In the first essay on philosophical doubting, the essayist jumps from a sanction of the Cartesian method of "Doubting of everything" to the easy assurance that "Common Sense" will not let us doubt the truth of such propositions as that 2 and 2 make 4.¹⁰ To jump from universal scepticism to acceptance of mathematical truths without going through intermediate stages is very unphilosophical, but not necessarily inconsistent. If the author were writing a philosophical treatise, he would feel obliged to take us step by step, as Descartes had done previously, from universal scepticism to rational acceptance of certain truths. But since he aspires to merely a broad and popular treatment of epistemology, he omits this process. His primary purpose is to unseat superstition and implicit faith and to substitute reasoned belief for blind belief. In his next essay he may appear to exempt the great truths of religion, morality and virtue from his recommendation of "a manly freedom of thought," but he actually does no such thing.¹¹ He says merely that a consistent habit of scepticism will pare essential beliefs to a necessary minimum, but that this process is confused and retarded by empty speculation and refinement. "The Great Truths of Religion, of Morality, and of Politicks . . . come within a narrow Compass; and may be apprehended by a Plain Capacity," but the refinements of these topics, introduced into the world by speculative men, "do not improve, but confound the People," and hence to study them is at best a solemn idleness. "The Knowledge of them is not Necessary (and very often Pernicious) to the Bulk of Mankind."

The last paper on this subject extracted by the Plain-Dealer consists of a letter ostensibly from a reader of the series, dividing the subjects of doubting into three groups, art and science, commerce and industry, and morality and religion.¹² The writer points out that doubting has always been practised in regard to the first two groups, but morality and religion are the subjects on which we are averse to truth and indeed skillful to contrive our own deception. After asserting the basic principle of free inquiry, that truth will bear being viewed on every side and in every light, he concludes by urging that religion be not exempt. Here he reveals that he is following such thinkers as Bayle, Shaftesbury,

¹⁰ "Plain-Dealer," No. 3; "Free-Thinker," No. 48.

¹¹ "Plain-Dealer," No. 5; "Free-Thinker," No. 50.

¹² "Plain-Dealer," No. 9, "Free-Thinker," No. 53.

and Anthony Collins in advocating scepticism primarily to combat dogmatism and superstition in religion. To print such essays may be deemed rather a bold beginning for colonial Maryland. Subsequently, Parks selected for No. 7 of *The Plain-Dealer*, No. 34 of the *Free-Thinker*, which condemns superstition as the arch adversary of true religion, a favorite theme of all deists, including Franklin.¹³

Of the numbers of *The Plain-Dealer* not concerned with religion, two are dream visions of the type made popular in the *Spectator* by Addison.¹⁴ No. 4 is a paraphrase of Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* (No. 80 of the *Free-Thinker*), and No. 8 is a particularized rendering of a conventional allegory of virtue and vice (No. 73 of the *Free-Thinker*).

Another number of *The Plain-Dealer* dealing with a conventional theme is No. 6 (No. 63 of the *Free-Thinker*). This concerns the parallel between poetry and painting introduced by the standard motto, *Ut Pictura Poesis erit*. Although the paper has only limited intrinsic value, it is historically important as one of the first purely esthetic essays published in an American periodical.

The only one of the numbers of *The Plain-Dealer* now accessible which Franklin did not reprint is one written on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I, and hence a political essay written from a quite conservative point of view on the dangers to society when the multitude get out of hand.¹⁵ To be sure the author asserts that the errors of the people are justly to be charged upon the leaders whose authority carries the vulgar into mistakes which they would otherwise avoid, but his tone is unmistakably undemocratic. "A very little Reflection will convince a Man," he asserts, "that the Bulk of any People are always *fond* of the

¹³ Parks' role as a pioneer American deist must be emphasized. Before 1728, Franklin's only deistical work had been published in England and had had no influence in the colonies. "The Plain-Dealers" are the first deistical works published by Franklin in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* with the possible exception of an account of Thomas Woolston's trial extracted from the *Political State of Great Britain* (March 19 and 26, 1730). There were a number of deistical articles extracted from English periodicals published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* before Franklin became editor (December 1, 1728–September 18, 1729), but these were all antedated by "The Plain-Dealers" in the *Maryland Gazette*. Parks, in his printing business, however, like Franklin, handled almost anything that would sell. It is no surprise, therefore, to notice in an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* of May 24, 1734, his reprint of a famous English anti-deist work, Charles Leslie's, *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, first published in London in 1698.

¹⁴ *Spectator* No. 159, "Visions of Mirza," and No. 604, "Vision of Human Misery," are well known examples.

¹⁵ "Plain-Dealer," No. 10; "Free-Thinker," No. 90.

Form of Government to which they have been long accustomed." Hence the heads of the Parliamentary parties were acting a foolish part in attempting to form a commonwealth. Although the author concludes with a praise of the Glorious Revolution, he bases his praise on the principle that "every Expedient proposed to remedy any growing Mischief in a State is more Excellent, the *smaller*, or rather the more *Imperceptible* Changes it makes." It is interesting to speculate whether Franklin deliberately left out this essay because even this early in his career he had arrived at a liberal point of view. Certainly the political essays he did print contained sentiments more agreeable to the wing of the Whig party which exalted liberty over stability. Perhaps Franklin was not conscious of political issues at all, on the other hand, but omitted the essay merely because of the date. The anniversary of Charles's death is January 30, and Franklin reprinted "The Plain-Dealer" in April and May.

Franklin's borrowing from the *Maryland Gazette* did not stop with *The Plain-Dealer*. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 20, 1731, appears an essay on Prometheus distributing moral characters to mankind. This essay had appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* for March 4, 1728/29. This time Parks was more candid than Franklin, for Parks plainly announces that the piece is "taken from a Pamphlet entitled 'The Intelligencer,' Dublin, 1728"; whereas Franklin makes no acknowledgment of any kind. The provenance of this essay is important primarily because *The Intelligencer* was conducted by Jonathan Swift and Thomas Sheridan, and the essay on Prometheus is usually attributed to the great satirist.

Franklin drew upon the *Maryland Gazette* for poetry also. One of his most interesting lyrical extracts is "Verses on St. Patrick's Day: Sacred to Mirth and Good-Nature," which appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, March 10-17, 1729-30. Although the title leads us to expect a Catholic poem, this work is entirely deistical. The poet commends St. Patrick for his good nature in freeing Ireland from its poisonous snakes instead of cursing it for its infidelity, and he exhorts the reader to emulate St. Patrick's good nature by practicing a universal religious toleration and good will. He concludes by recommending mutual love to all the universe, not only to particular sects:

As *one great City* was the *Earth* design'd,
 As *Fellow-Citizens* are all *Mankind*;
 Who ALL have *Right to Kindness and Good-Will*,
 Which should on ALL, like silent Dews distil;
 Whether they're *White, or Black, or Bond or Free*,
 Of Whatsoever NATION they may be,
 Nay, tho' they in RELIGION disagree.

In the *Maryland Gazette*, the poem is subscribed "March 16, 1729-30. Somerset English." This probably means that the poem was submitted on the day preceding publication by a Somerset Englishman. It is possible, of course, that the poem was published even earlier in England, but the line "Whether they're White, or Black, or Bond or Free" suggests the new world, and the advocacy of religious toleration suggests Maryland. The latter quality is undoubtedly that which recommended the poem to Franklin. He makes no mention of the *Maryland Gazette*, however, but subscribes merely, "March 16. PHILANTHROPOS." This unacknowledged borrowing was widespread throughout England and the colonies and bore no taint of plagiarism or failure to give due credit.

The poem on St. Patrick's Day is found in one of the issues of the *Maryland Gazette* available today. That Franklin took other verses of equal merit from one of the issues now nowhere else to be found (December 30, 1729) is more important to us at the moment. They are entitled "To Mr. Samuel Hastings (Shipwright of Philadelphia) on his launching the Maryland-Merchant, a large Ship built by him at Annapolis," and they appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 6, 1730. In this work the poet shows remarkable ingenuity. In a short history of shipbuildings, he traces the progress of the art from the unwieldy floats of Adam's offspring, to the ark of Noah. Then he describes some of the masters of the craft—Daedalus, who (according to this poet) invented sails, and Jason, whose ship brought freedom to the Greeks.

To Ships, we owe our Knowledge, and our Trade,
 By them defend our own, and other Realms invade.
 Without their Aid, *America* had been
 To all, except its Natives, now unseen:
 Her Trees whose stately Tops to Heaven aspire,
 Had fall'n a Prey to Worms, or fed the Fire,

Which now with Pleasure shall forsake their Woods,
And fly to distant Lands o're deepest Floods,

* * * * *

What Nature has to Maryland deny'd,
She might by Ships from all the World provide.

After these general subjects, the poet praises Hasting's vessel, which has been two years building, and prophesies world cruises for its future. Then prophecy gives way to retrospection. The bard describes a vision which came to him one moonlit night as he stood on the vessel's deck in drydock. Through the good offices of the Muse, a Triton appears to prepare the way for Chesapeake, ruler of the Bay. The latter emerges majestically, followed by his court, Severn, Patuxent, Chester, Patapsco, Sassafras and Susquahana. The monarch then addresses the assembled figures in a flood of oratory in which praise of Hasting's vessel is blended with denunciation of sharp practices of English businessmen.

Tell them, the Factors whom they now employ
In *Britain's* Isle their Interest betray;

* * * * *

To ruin *Maryland* they now unite
In monstrous Leagues of amicable Spight.

Father Chesapeake and the Muse conclude by advising Maryland planters either to select one of their own number to carry on their commercial transactions in London, or to declare a year's embargo on tobacco in order to bring the English merchants to terms. Apparently Maryland planters were not getting a high enough price for their "sinking Staple," tobacco, and the poet suggests that the dishonesty of English traders is responsible.

Although this poet cannot rise to Goldsmith's level of the poetic treatment of economic problems in *The Deserted Village*, the more conventional parts of his work reveal a deft use of language. Certainly not equal to Goldsmith, the writer is, nevertheless, a poet.

On the basis of a letter in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, we may tentatively assume him to be Richard Lewis, schoolmaster at Annapolis. Lewis is considered to be Maryland's earliest classical scholar and first scientific observer. Early in 1728/29, he published in Annapolis a translation of Edward Holdsworth's Latin

poem *Muscipula*, an imitation of Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*. Lewis dedicated his poem, considered to be the first literary product of the Maryland press, to the governor of Maryland, Benedict Leonard Calvert.¹⁸ The poem on ship-building was published only a few months after Lewis's *Muscipula*. If not the first poem published in Maryland, it may be the first published in Maryland on a Maryland theme.

The letter which suggests that Lewis was the author of this poem appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 28-December 5, 1734. Addressed to Franklin, it castigates an elegy on Lewis's death written by W. Byfeild, "late of New-Castle upon Tine":

As you are acquainted with the Character which Mr. Lewis has left behind him among People who have a true Taste for Learning, and have reprinted several of his beautiful Pieces of Poetry, I think you a fit Person to communicate the reflections to, that I made upon perusing the under-written ELEGY.

The writer felt at first that he should compare the elegy to the ill success of Aesop's ass, who seeing the kind usage received by a dog, determined to imitate him by fawning and jumping upon his master. After some consideration the writer relaxed his severity, however, on the grounds that a man is more to be commiserated than chastised who writes bad poetry out of affection to a deceased friend. Hence he suggests an expedient by which men who scribble out of either affection or poverty may receive an ample reward without exposing their work to permanent dishonor by publication. A Public Office should be set up in each province for the consideration of all poetry. That which is deserving of praise should be republished, and that which is poor but well intended should get paid for in cash, noted in an advertisement, and then promptly locked up.

We are likely to commend this scheme when we read Byfeild's effusions printed by Franklin in the same issue.

An ELEGY on the much to be lamented Death of Mr. RICHARD LEWIS, late Master of the Free-School of the City of ANNAPOLIS.

¹⁸ Bernard C. Steiner, "Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq. Governor of the Province of Maryland, 1727-1731," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III (December, 1908), 340. *Muscipula* has been reprinted in *Early Maryland Poetry*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 36 (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 58-102. Lewis's scientific activities are described in a note by Bernard C. Steiner in *Maryland Historical Magazine* V (March, 1910), 71-72.

This City's lost their Pedagogue of Art,
 More exquisite than any in this Part.
 As to his verifying Parts, I may,
 Without Presumption, absolutely say,
 He was a Second MILTON, and could chime
 In lofty Strain, when he was pleas'd to Rhime.

After eleven other lines of equal merit, Byfeild adds the following epitaph:

O Cruel Fate, could'st thou not miss!
 But strike with Death, our RARE LEWIS!
 Could'st thou not have struck at me.
 And sent me first to Eternity?
 That he might've made my Elegy,
 . . . Not I his.¹⁷

This does not entirely exhaust the list of Maryland-inspired poetry in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. In the issue of May 13, 1730 (No. 131), by Rev. Richard Lewis "A Journey from Patapsco to Annapolis," as clumsy and obtuse as Byfeild's elegy and much more tedious. It is so bad that it will not bear the repeating of a single line. Yet Franklin apparently thought well enough of it, for he reprinted it as a serious literary work, not as a parody. We need no other evidence that the letter above ridiculing Byfeild was not of Franklin's own composition, but was written by a correspondent of poetic sensibilities.¹⁸

In concluding this survey of colonial literary exchanges, it is important to notice that all the borrowing we know of is from the *Maryland Gazette* by the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. The only exception to this one-sided relationship is the printing by the *Maryland Gazette*, July 15-22, 1729, of "A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency," a tract written by Franklin before his association with the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. The evidence that Franklin was the debtor rather than the creditor of the Maryland periodical shows that Franklin had real respect for the literary taste of Parks and that he considered the *Maryland Gazette* to be at least the equal of his own enterprise.

¹⁷ Yet the ridicule of Byfeild is parallel to one of Franklin's earliest literary efforts, mock criticism and praise of a New England funeral elegy in No. VII of the "Dogood Papers."

¹⁸ This poem was reprinted in the London *Weekly Register or, Universal Journal*, April 7, 1733 and is ascribed to Richard Lewis. Other printed works of Lewis are: *Carmen Seculare* [Annapolis, 1732] and *A Rhapsody* [Annapolis, 1732].

DRUID HILL, COUNTRY SEAT OF THE ROGERS AND BUCHANAN FAMILIES

By EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

Although many Baltimoreans know that Druid Hill was the name of the old Rogers estate which the City of Baltimore purchased in 1860 for a public park, comparatively few people today realize that the present Mansion House in the park is actually the residence, much altered, which Colonel Nicholas Rogers designed and built in 1801.

The Park Commissioners appointed by Mayors Swann and Chapman in the early 1860's did not foresee the day when a fine house of the early Federal period would rank in interest and importance with Mount Clare, the home of Charles Carroll, Barrister, now carefully restored and preserved in Carroll Park.¹ In their zeal they altered the old Rogers mansion almost beyond recognition to meet the needs of the park at that time.

They employed Mr. Howard Daniels, landscape gardener and engineer, at \$10 a day and expenses to make a survey of the property and to lay out the drives, walks, lakes and other features in the park.² His admirable plan necessitated the destruction of the famous orchard of nearly 40,000 pear trees planted by Lloyd Nicholas Rogers which must have rivaled the cherry trees of Washington, D. C., when in bloom, but he made Druid Hill Park one of the ranking parks of America. Daniels' first report to the commissioners in 1861 stressed the need of providing a shelter to protect the throngs of visitors from sudden summer storms. The commissioners decided it would be cheaper to convert the Rogers dwelling into a "pavillion" than to erect a building for that purpose.

¹ The commissioners were George William Brown, John H. B. Latrobe, William E. Hooper, Robert Leslie, and Columbus O'Donnell. *First Annual Report of the Park Commission*, [Baltimore, 1861?].

² "Mr. Daniels had had charge in this country of similar undertakings and had made the parks of Europe his especial study." *Ibid.* He was chosen two years later to design the grounds at Vassar College, New York, and was succeeded in 1863 by August Faul, general superintendent and engineer.

The low first story of Druid Hill, which was flush with the ground, was converted into the basement of the present Mansion House. This first floor during the occupancy of the Rogers family contained seven rooms, we learn from the *Reports* of the Park Commissioners, 1861-64. The second or main story of the dwelling which had five large rooms became the first floor of the Mansion House. This floor they entirely surrounded by porches, twenty feet wide, which were reached by long flights of steps. Beneath the porches arcades eight feet high were built where sandwiches and soft drinks were sold to the hungry, thirsty crowds which visited the park. The porches and arcades provided shelter for nearly two thousand people. The gently sloping lawn in front of the house was partly filled to make a wide terrace on which the arcades opened.

The commissioners decided that one large and well proportioned hall would "greatly enhance the convenience as well as the architectural attractiveness of the building." This was accomplished by removing the partitions between the two parlors and the wide center hall in the main story of the dwelling. The low attic over the central portion of the house was enlarged; the roof was raised and a belvedere which crowned the building was added. "The Mansion assumed an appearance imposing and effective, in excellent taste and at comparatively small cost," but the ancestral home of the Rogers family was destroyed in the process.³

Druid Hill, the home which Lloyd Nicholas Rogers sold to the City of Baltimore, was the third house built by the Rogers-Buchanan family on land the Rogers family had owned since 1716. Records show that thirteen years before the Town of Baltimore was laid out, Nicholas Rogers, II, bought for £50 sterling 200 acres of a tract called "Hab Nab at a Venture"—now part of the Park.⁴ Dying in 1720, he left this property to his eldest daughter,

³ John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe, His Life and Times, 1803-1891*, (Baltimore, 1917), p. 444. Mr. Semmes quotes Mr. Latrobe: "From time to time I have dabbled somewhat in architecture . . . I designed . . . the Gateway at Druid Hill Park, the Office near the gateway, the Rotunda and the addition to the old Mansion. The details of these structures were the work of Mr. Frederick." George A. Frederick was architect of the present City Hall, completed in 1875. "Mr. Latrobe was president of the Park Board from 1860-1891. . . . He always looked upon the park [Druid Hill] as his particular property. Few things were done without his approval." *Ibid.*, p. 556.

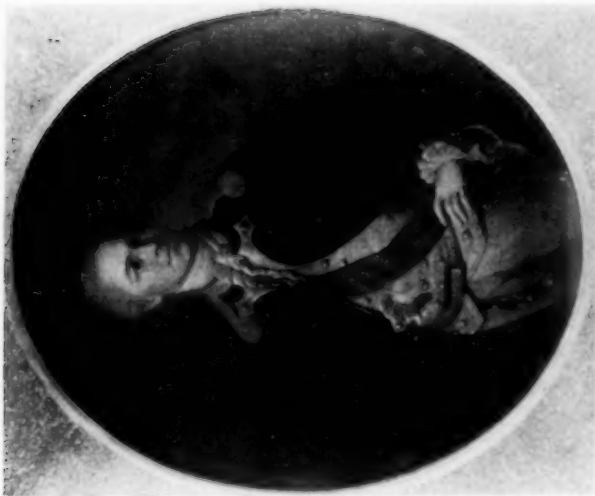
⁴ Much of the information about the early history of the Rogers and Buchanan families and their properties has been taken from *Public Parks of Baltimore, No. 3*, compiled for the Board of Park Commissioners, 1928, by J. V. Kelly, to whom all credit and many thanks are given.

Eleanor, who married the Scotch born physician, George Buchanan. Dr. Buchanan continued to add to this property until he owned nearly 600 acres. He called his estate Auchentorlie after a family estate in Scotland. On it he built a modest dwelling for his family of six sons and four daughters. This home stood "far west of the mansion house" and was one of the oldest houses in Baltimore County, if not in Maryland, as claimed by Dr. Allen Kerr Bond in his chapter on Baltimore parks in Clayton C. Hall's *Baltimore, Its History and Its People*, published in 1912. It stood near the family burial ground which remains untouched in the northwest section of the Park. The house which was listed as the "Old Colonial house" in the inventory of Druid Hill Park made by the Park Commissioners in 1860 was at that time "much decayed." After repairs it was occupied by one of the foremen employed in laying out the Park and in 1868 it was torn down. Fortunately, a photograph of this house taken probably in 1860, has survived and is owned by Mr. Edmund L. R. Smith, a descendant of the Rogers and Buchanan families.

Dr. Buchanan died in 1750 and was buried in the family graveyard where his tombstone may still be seen. Mrs. Buchanan died eight years later, a few months after the birth of her granddaughter, another Eleanor, only child of her oldest son Lloyd, who inherited Auchentorlie. He died a widower in 1761 and left the estate to his three-year-old daughter. Eleanor Buchanan was brought up by her maternal grandmother, Mrs. Alexander Lawson, Sr., in Baltimore, but her estate was kept in its entirety and was cared for by Buchanan slaves until after the close of the Revolutionary War.

On June 19, 1783, Eleanor Buchanan (1757-1812) married Col. Nicholas Rogers (1753-1822) who was her first cousin once removed. Col. Rogers' father, Nicholas, III, was a much younger brother of Eleanor Rogers who married Dr. Buchanan. By this second marriage between the families the estate returned to the Rogers family, owners of the original nucleus of the property.

Col. Rogers at the time of his marriage was a prominent citizen and merchant of Baltimore Town. After graduating from Glasgow University in 1774 he traveled in England and was in Paris when the Revolutionary War began. He served as aide-de-camp to General Ducoudray and later to Baron de Kalb. After his return to Baltimore in 1780 he served on the Committee of



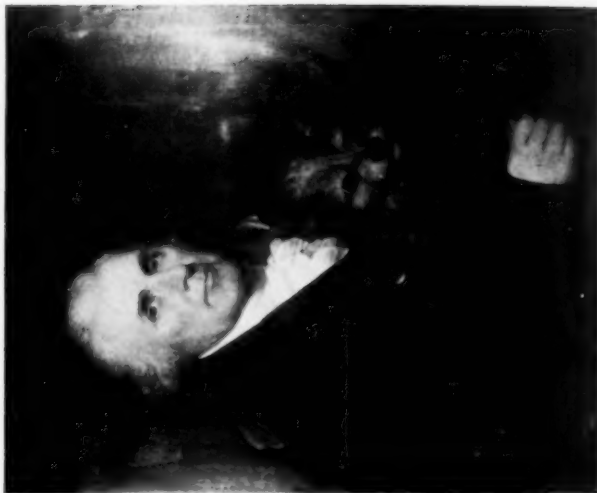
COLONEL NICHOLAS ROGERS

1753-1822

in the uniform of a Revolutionary officer

By Charles Willson Peale

Courtesy Mrs. R. H. Plant McCaw

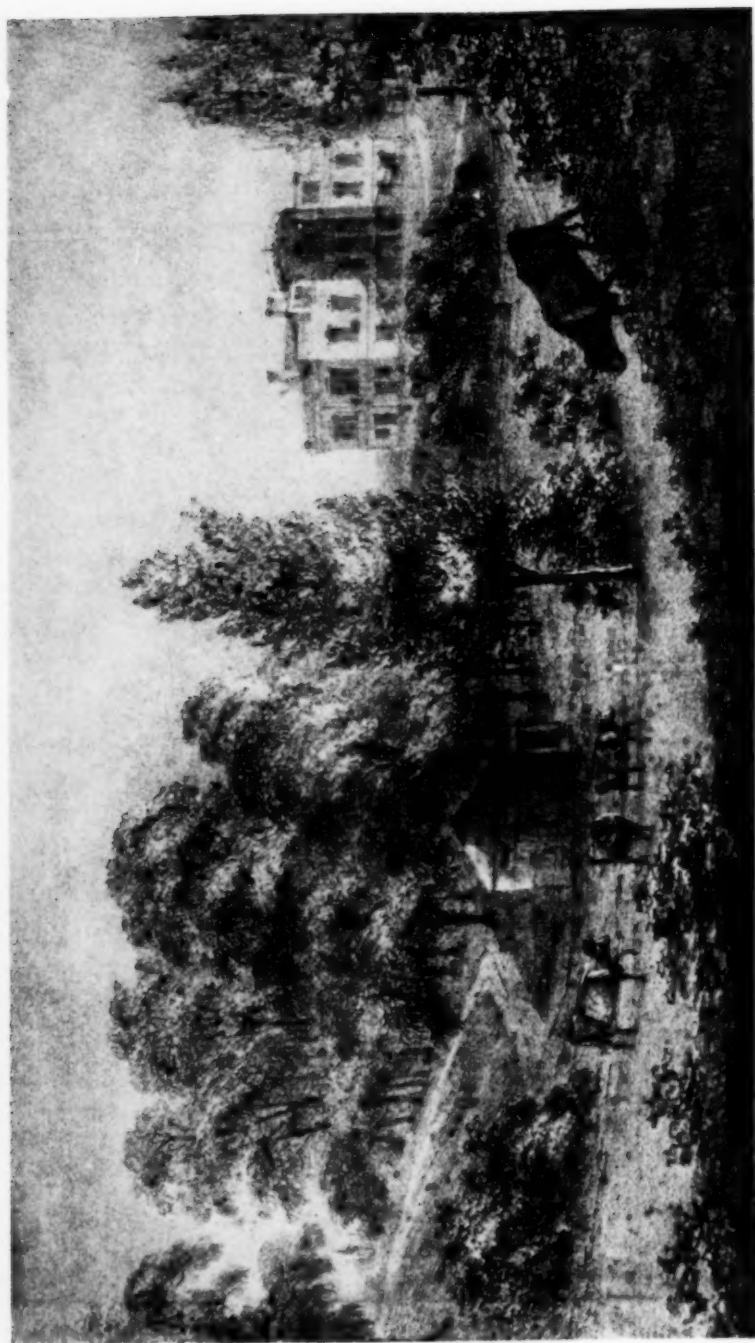


COLONEL NICHOLAS ROGERS

1753-1822

Painted by Charles Wesley Jarvis

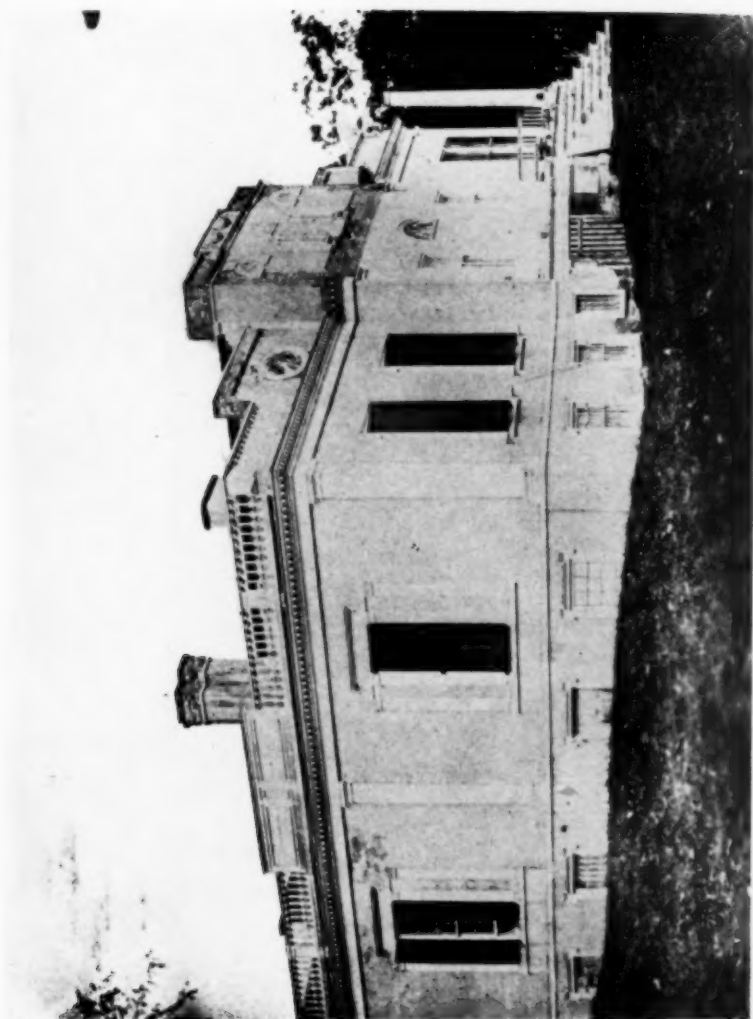
Courtesy Mr. E. L. R. Smith



REAR VIEW OF DRUID HILL MANSION FROM THE NORTH

Lithograph from drawing by J. R. Murray, son-in-law of the owner-architect.

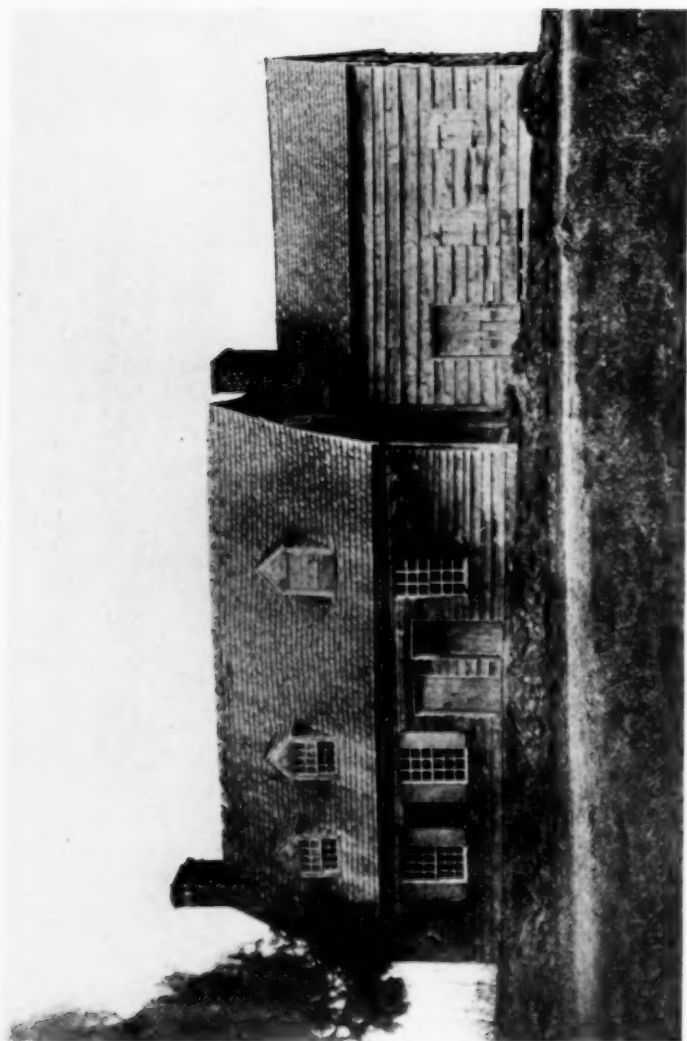
Courtesy Mr. E. L. R. Smith



DRUID HILL ABOUT 1860

View from the south, apparently after the alterations had been started. The entrance front is at right.

Courtesy Mr. E. L. R. Smith



AUCHENTORLIE MANSION (?)

This photograph in Mr. Smith's possession is inscribed on the back "Old Colonial House, Druid Hill." The house was pulled down in 1868.

Courtesy of the owner.

Defense and was given the honorary rank of colonel for his services to Silas Deane, American Commissioner in Paris. He became a member of the City Council, judge of the Orphans Court and one of the justices of the Criminal Court.

Col. Rogers was an organizer of the Society for the Encouragement and Improvement of Agriculture in Maryland, formed in 1786. Throughout his life he was much interested in improving and beautifying his estate which he renamed Druid Hill. J. Thomas Scharf quotes from an undisclosed source that Druid Hill "was laid out by Col. Rogers in the best style of English landscape gardening. He went so far as to group trees with regard for their autumnal tints and with fine effect. The gold and crimson colors were brought out into strong and beautiful relief by being backed with evergreens. The skirting woodlands were converted into bays and indentations."⁵

Scharf also states that Rogers was "an architect of considerable distinction and left many traces of his artistic taste." In his *Chronicles of Baltimore* he credits him with being the architect of the handsome Assembly Room completed in 1799, where the élite of Baltimore met to dance.⁶ Griffith in his *Annals of Baltimore*, published in 1824, states that Col. Rogers drew the plan for the jail built in Baltimore in 1802 and Robert Cary Long was the builder.⁷ The Maryland Historical Society has an elaborate scale drawing of an unidentified church—"Design of Temple for Divine Worship by Nicholas Rogers, Esqr., 1810."

Col. Rogers was undoubtedly an amateur architect of no small talent. An old manuscript owned by a descendant of Col. Rogers states that he drew plans for a large, handsome house which he built on an oak covered hill, but the year is not given.⁸ This was the first Druid Hill mansion, built probably soon after his marriage. Col. Rogers evidently wished to prove his ability as an architect by designing his country seat in the new Federal style which was outmoding the Georgian type of house. Though no drawing

⁵ *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 274. Tradition in the Buchanan family has it that Colonel Rogers selected as the site of his new home a hilltop which the family had previously named Druid Hill. Further data on the family will be found in Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Baltimore, its History and its People* (N. Y.: Lewis Historical Pub. Co., 1912), III, 832-835.

⁶ P. 283.

⁷ P. 175.

⁸ From Rogers Family Notes by Anne S. Dandridge, cited by J. V. Kelly in *Public Parks* . . . No. 3, p. 24.

or floor plan of this house exists today a fair description of it is found in the *Baltimore Journal and Commercial Advertiser* of August 8, 1796, which tells of the destruction of the house by fire.

Last Saturday night between the hours of ten and eleven a fire broke out in the dwelling house of Col. Rogers about two and a half miles from this town and before any assistance could be given was totally consumed. It cannot be said that any neglect of the family occasioned it but from the fire being first discovered in the roof, it is supposed a spark from the chimney communicated thereto and created the conflagration of the building. This building, formally admired for its simplicity and elegance occupied a front of nearly sixty feet—was only one story—but so compact and commodious as to outvie most of the buildings in the vicinity of Baltimore. The possessor of this late hospitable mansion must be much grieved not only on account of the loss and the net cost of rebuilding, but for the destruction of a plan which cost him unwearied attention and which he can now but barely hope to imitate.

Undaunted by this calamity Col. Rogers decided to build another house on the same site and again drew plans for the second Druid Hill. During the four year period while the new home was being built the Rogers family lived in their city house at the corner of Baltimore and Light Sts. Again catastrophe overtook them, for on April 14, 1801, the town house was also destroyed by fire.⁹

Richard Parkinson, an English gentleman-farmer, who for several years rented Orange Hill, a large farm on the Philadelphia Road near Baltimore, wrote in his *Tour in America*, published in London in 1805:

A few days before I left America, Col. Rogers of Baltimore whipped a negro for some fault, and at night put him in the cellar. He got out while the family were asleep in their beds, set fire to the house, by putting fire under the staircase, the way usually practiced by these nefarious miscreants, and the family with difficulty saved their lives; every article in the house was consumed; the Colonel's pocket book, containing a great number of bank notes, likewise became a prey to the flames.¹⁰

Perhaps this second disaster broke the Colonel's spirit; perhaps it embarrassed him financially, for as soon as possible the family, which consisted of his wife and their two children—Lloyd Nicholas, a lad of fourteen and Harriet, two years younger—

⁹ *Federal Gazette*, April 15, 1801, p. 3, col. 4.

¹⁰ Vol. II, p. 637. Col. Rogers' will proves he was a most humane master. In it he stipulated that an aged Negro couple be retained and cared for by his son. His younger slaves and their descendants were to be manumitted when they reached the ages of twenty five (female) and thirty (male).

moved into their barely completed country home. The balancing wings which Col. Rogers is said to have planned for Druid Hill were never built.

Six year later the wedding of Harriet Rogers and John Robert Murray, Esq., of New York City, took place at Druid Hill.¹¹ The young couple presumably did not return to New York, for a few months before Mrs. Rogers' death in January, 1812, she and the Colonel jointly deeded to their son-in-law 31½ acres of Auchentorlie with "all and singular buildings, improvements, rights, privileges and appurtenances whatsoever" in exchange for a five dollar bill.¹² This land lay south of Druid Hill estate and was bounded on the west by the Reisterstown turnpike. The Murrays later moved to Geneseo, N. Y., and in 1856 this identical property was conveyed by Lloyd Nicholas Rogers to John Morris Orem. Mr. Orem built a handsome Victorian style residence on the property which he called Auchentorlie, after the old estate. His house was demolished some years ago but the lithographed view of Mr. Orem's Auchentorlie by Hoen & Co. is well-known in Baltimore today.¹³

A lithograph made from a pencil sketch by John Murray, a rear view of Druid Hill, is owned today by a descendant of Col. Rogers.¹⁴ Murray made the sketch from "the valley in the rear, looking from the Northeast and from a point near the stable which is in the foreground near the three cows shown in the sketch." The inscription, in pencil, is initialed "E. L. R." for Edmund Law Rogers, son of Lloyd Nicholas Rogers and grandfather of the owner of the lithograph of Druid Hill. Quite appropriately this area is now a part of the Zoo. The sketch shows a narrow carriage drive which skirts the edge of a ravine below the house and continues past the low, square house which stands close to the brink of the little valley.

¹¹ *Federal Gazette*, Feb. 18, 1807. Murray (1774-1851) was an amateur artist of some standing. From 1840 till his death he was an honorary member, amateur, of the National Academy of Design. He was also a director of the American Academy of Arts as early as 1806 and its vice-president in 1809. He died in New York City where he seems to have spent most of his life. See *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860*, Collections of the New-York Historical Society, 1942, Vol. II (N. Y., 1943) p. 46; William M. MacBean's *Biographical Register of Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York*, (N. Y. 1925), II, 12-13.

¹² Baltimore Court House, Land Records, W. G. No. 115, f. 427.

¹³ Baltimore County Court House, Towson. Book No. 17, f. 380.

¹⁴ Mr. Edmund Law Rogers Smith, great-great grandson of Col. Nicholas Rogers, is the present owner of the Rogers Family Notes and other items mentioned.

While Murray's view, which is reproduced herewith, gives an impression of size and grandeur, it is tantalizing in its lack of clear detail. Faintly discernible are the divided stairs leading to what must have been an impressive entrance in the main story. It is impossible to say whether the central portion of the house was recessed or not or whether there was a portico. The meaning of the unusual curve in the roof is equally baffling. The house faced southeastwardly and overlooked the city.

The whereabouts of a "View of Seat of Col. Rogers, near Baltimore" by Francis Guy, exhibited under this title in 1811 at the First Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States, Philadelphia, is not known today. This would seem unquestionably to have been a view of Druid Hill. Guy painted a number of views of country seats near Baltimore in the early years of the 19th century. Some of them may be seen at the Maryland Historical Society.¹⁸

A later oil painting of Druid Hill, a landscape view taken from the south, by John F. Kensett, N. A., is owned by Mr. Smith. Kensett was one of the group of artists known today as the Hudson River School. Without question he knew the Rogers family and was familiar with their home. His elder brother, Thomas Kensett, pioneer oyster packer and canner, settled in Baltimore in 1849 and his summer home adjoined Auchentorlie. Although Kensett's painting of Druid Hill is dated 1864, ("J F K '64"), it shows the house before it was altered by the Park Commissioners. Possibly it was painted from a sketch made by the artist on an early visit to his brother. The riding habit of the lady on horseback with long flowing skirt and romantic plumed hat is definitely Victorian. This view is reproduced as the cover picture of this Magazine.

Although the exterior of Druid Hill was totally unlike the main unit of Homewood, which was built a few years later by Charles Carroll of Carrollton for his son, the proportions of the two houses and the arrangement of the windows are quite similar. The first story, or basement, floor of both houses is low, the windows small. The main story is much higher—the ceilings at Druid Hill are thirteen feet high and the windows proportionately taller. The entrance door to both houses is on

¹⁸ J. Hall Pleasants, *Four Late Eighteenth Century Anglo-American Landscape Painters* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1943), p. 115.

this floor and is reached by steps which lead to an entrance porch with tall columns which opens on the central hall of the house. Unlike Homewood, Col. Rogers' house has no eaves. The low attic of Druid Hill extended only over the center portion of the house. Over the entrance door is a window with arched head; small oval windows are on either side. Beyond them the roof is flat and surmounted by a balustrade.¹⁶

Although Lloyd Nicholas Rogers did not become the owner of Druid Hill estate until the death of his father in 1822, it was to the family home he brought his bride, Eliza Law, daughter of Eliza Parke Custis and Thomas Law of Washington, D. C., whom he married in the spring of 1817. Mrs. Rogers died a few months after the death of her father-in-law, Col. Rogers. She left a son, Edmund Law Rogers (1818-1896) and a daughter, Eleanor. In 1829 Mr. Rogers married again. The wedding of the handsome lawyer from Baltimore and Hortensia Monroe Hay, daughter of Judge George Hay and granddaughter of President Monroe, took place quietly at Oak Hill, the Monroe estate near Leesburg, Va. Miss Hay was named for her godmother, Hortense de Beauharnais, Queen of Holland, who had been a school friend of her mother, Eliza Monroe, in Paris. Three daughters were born of this second marriage, Harriet, Hortensia and Mary Custis, all of whom grew up and married while the family lived at Druid Hill.

A hundred and more years ago Druid Hill was a gay and happy home. It must have been a beautiful home also, filled with heirlooms and mementoes of the Custis, Law and Washington families which Eliza Law had brought to Druid Hill¹⁷—miniatures of her great-grandmother, Martha Washington, of her grandfather, John Parke Custis and of her father, Thomas Law, and Saint Memin's portrait of her mother. Hortensia Hay had brought to Druid Hill a portrait of Queen Hortense painted by Gérard which the Queen

¹⁶ A miniature painting of Greenwood, country seat of Philip Rogers, elder brother of Col. Nicholas, shows a house rather reminiscent of Druid Hill. This small painting is in a medallion on a pier table at the Baltimore Museum of Art. The picture shows a white house, probably stucco, with tall windows in the main story, small windows below. The entrance is from a porch with tall columns, reached by a flight of circular steps. The attic extends only over the main portion of the house. The roof over the attached wings is flat. One cannot but wonder if Col. Rogers designed his brother's home which was built about the same time as Druid Hill. Greenwood is shown on T. H. Poppleton's *Map of Baltimore*, (1851), slightly north and west of Collington Square in northeast Baltimore. The house stood in the proposed extension of Choptank Street, now Collington Avenue, and was demolished when the street was cut through the property.

¹⁷ *Sun*, Jan. 6, 1899; *Ibid.*, March 6, 1905.

had sent her namesake. Portraits of President Monroe by Rembrandt Peale and Lambdin hung on the walls and a miniature of her grandmother, Elizabeth Kortright Monroe, painted in Paris by Sené. She also brought some of the massive Monroe silver and white and lavender china which her grandparents had used in the White House.

The passing years brought many changes. Mrs. Rogers died in the 1850's. All the children married and left Druid Hill except Eleanor,¹⁸ the eldest daughter. She was her father's devoted companion in the last years of his life and the sole executrix of his will. To her he left the major portion of his estate. As Mr. Rogers grew older he is said to have become embittered. Despite his opposition the Green Spring Company secured from the State Legislature a right of way through his property. Clouds foreshadowing the Civil War were gathering and in 1860 he reluctantly agreed to sell his 475 acre estate to the City of Baltimore for a public park. His only stipulation was that the family burial ground remain untouched. The consideration was \$1,000 per acre.

On the 16th of October of that year, Mr. Rogers and his daughter witnessed the ceremonies celebrating the formal opening of the park from the front porch of their old home. The next day Mr. Rogers left his house for the last time and within a month he died. He was buried with his forebears in the old Buchanan-Rogers graveyard in the park. His epitaph states that he was "a ripe scholar and accomplished gentleman. . . . He sleeps as was his wish with his relatives and those he loved."

A faded photograph of Druid Hill as it looked when purchased by the City shows the handsome house in a state of mild decay.¹⁹ Some stucco has fallen, exposing the brick walls of the house. All the columns of the front portico are missing, but the fine elaborate cornice below the balustrade which surmounts the roof is still intact. One wonders why the interior woodwork of the Mansion House today is so plain. Surely Col. Rogers' original plan called for interior trim more in keeping with his fine house. Perhaps the interior of the house was not finished when the family hastily moved in after their city home was burned and was

¹⁸ *Sun*, March 6, 1905. The marriage of Eleanor Rogers to George Robbins Goldsborough of Ashby, Talbot Co., took place in 1862.

¹⁹ Collection Maryland Historical Society, courtesy of Mr. Smith.

not completed as originally planned. Perhaps the Park Commissioners considered the woodwork of the house too fine for a public "pavillion." No one knows the answer. New days bring new ways. The wide glassed-in porches of Druid Hill Mansion House are now the home of a fine collection of tropical birds which are visited daily by hundreds of people, old and young.

³⁰ Opened to the public on Sunday, May 8, 1949, and visited that day by over 6,000 men, women and children.

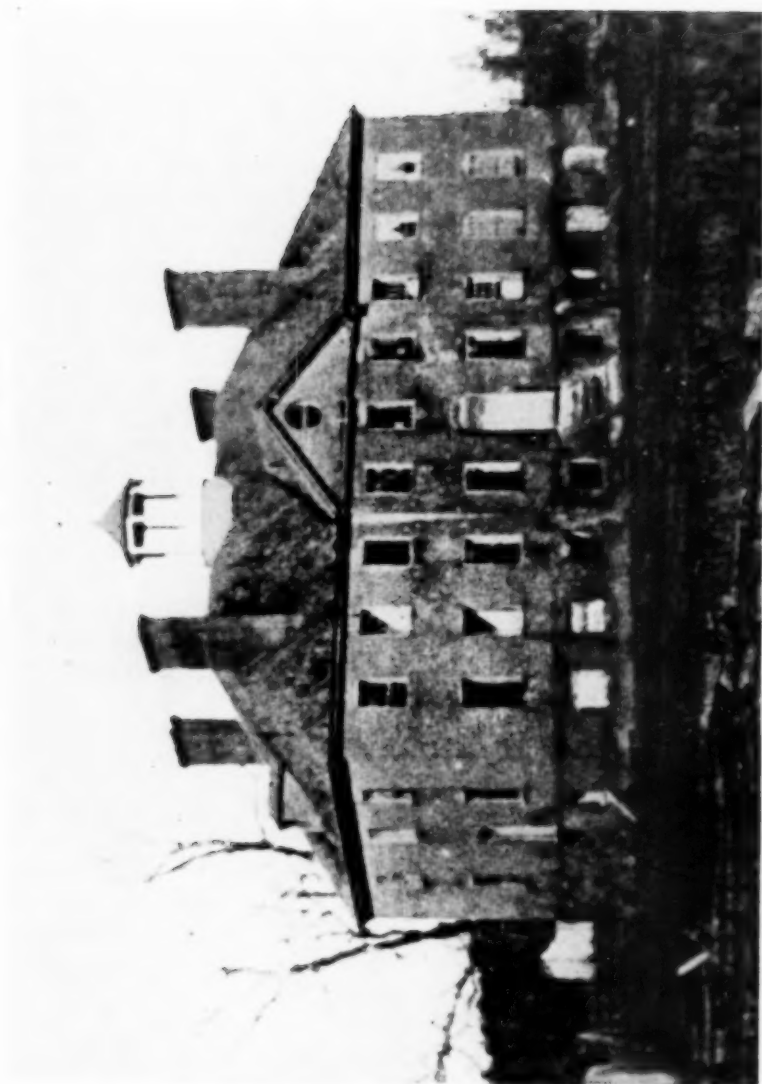
WASHINGTON ACADEMY, SOMERSET COUNTY, MARYLAND

By RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

Few American secondary schools can claim a history as long or as continuous as that of Washington Academy, now Washington High School, Princess Anne, Somerset County. Originally established in 1767, under the name of Somerset Academy, Washington Academy arose from the great need for educational institutions in Maryland. Not all planters could afford to send their children to England to be educated; or if the means were available, many preferred not to venture their sons on the dangerous ocean passage or trust them to the disinterested care of an English factor. The need for local schools had long been recognized and beginning with the school law of 1694, various attempts had been made by the proprietary government to establish some sort of an educational system. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the schools established under these laws were miserably inadequate and were generally condemned as useless. Consequently, private initiative was required to supply this want.¹

Among the private schools established in Maryland during the eighteenth century, Washington Academy was one of the first and possibly the best. Its early history, as described in detail in Rind's *Virginia Gazette* of February 23, 1769, emerges with more clarity than is generally the case with colonial institutions. This account, supposedly written by a "Gentleman, on his travels, to a friend in Williamsburg," seems to reveal a much closer connection and a more intimate knowledge of the newly established Academy than one would expect from a casual traveller. Perhaps publicity was his objective in writing. According to Rind's correspondent, the academy was established by a "number of public spirited Gentlemen, of different denominations," who motivated by a "deep conviction of the great importance of learning both to church and

¹ Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 40.



WASHINGTON ACADEMY

Building erected 1802 on Jones Creek, Somerset County, and occupied until 1843.

state generously united to encourage it upon such a Catholic plan as might render it beneficial to persons of all denominations."

Selecting a site on the north side of Back Creek approximately six miles from the town of Princess Anne, the founders erected "a genteel commodious house, sixty-two feet in length and twenty in breadth" to house masters and students.² This structure was planned with a definite purpose, for it was believed that

by residing all together, in one house, the scholars are always under the immediate inspection of the masters, and of consequence are less exposed to vice and temptation, and are free from various interruptions in study, which will unavoidably attend them when dispersed in different families: And it also prevents any loss of time, by coming tardy to school, or of not coming at all by the badness of the weather; but by this means so much time is redeemed that the scholars usually get a recitation before breakfast.

A steward was engaged "to victual the academy," to supervise the servants, and to keep "all things neat and decent." The charges were relatively low—nine pounds, ten shillings for board; five pounds for tuition; and fifty shillings for washing, mending and bedding. The whole amount totalled about seventeen pounds annually. The traveller considered it the cheapest school he had ever seen in America.

The control of the Academy was vested in the hands of six gentlemen or managers who had broad powers of administration and who, more specifically, selected the two masters upon which their system operated. The masters, with good educational backgrounds and "unblemished reputations," worked from six to eight hours a day in "reaching" their students who by 1769—two years after its founding—totalled forty. School prayers were held both morning and evening, "agreeable to the laudable practice of the most eminent schools and academies in Great Britain." Included in the curriculum were English grammar, orthography, Latin and Greek, geography, "logick," navigation and surveying. The art of speaking was given a special and peculiar place in the schedule, because it was thought to be such a necessary tool for preparation for the three honored professions—senate, bar and the pulpit.

Situated in a "healthy place with a good air," the Academy was recommended as combining the advantages of neither being

² The site was near the present town of Westover. Because of its location the academy was called the "School on Back Creek." *Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State* (New York, 1946), p. 425.

too near a town with its possible diversions to "infest it with vicious examples," nor in too isolated a region remote from any connection with civilization.

Two public days, the equivalent of our examinations and commencements of today, were held—one at the end of each term. The dates were announced in advance in order that parents and friends could attend. These exercises were designed to give parents an opportunity to see how well their sons were progressing. The students were questioned by the managers and the masters. Debating and oratory were the highlights of the program. Apart from furnishing a means of delight to the listeners, these exhibitions served as wonderful tests of resourcefulness and knowledge and gave the students experience in meeting audiences.

The unknown traveller of 1769 ended his discussion of Somerset Academy with an appeal for its continued support:

Though a foreigner, and unconnected with the colony, yet as a citizen of the world, and a common friend of literature; I cannot but rejoice that such a useful institution is erected, especially in that part of the country, which is so remote from colleges, and so much needs the genial rays of science. May friends and benefactors be daily rising up to patronize, encourage, and support it, and may it inspire and stimulate other Gentlemen in the southern colonies to enlarge the commonwealth of learning, the following of which is so necessary to the preservation of liberty and the prosperity of church and state.³

The rapid growth and early prosperity of the Academy was in a large measure due to the excellence of its first masters. These were probably attracted to Washington Academy by Samuel Wilson, lawyer of Westover and a Princeton graduate. He has been considered the originator of the idea of the school. It was, no doubt, through his Princeton connections that he was able to obtain two graduates of his Alma Mater as masters, Luther Martin and Hugh Henry Brackenridge. Both Martin and Brackenridge later had distinguished careers at the bar. The availability of Wilson's excellent law library was of great value in giving them the necessary legal background.⁴

By 1772 the building was enlarged, thanks to many generous contributions, the enrollment had risen from eighteen students in 1769 to seventy. This growth was undoubtedly the result of the

³ This account is derived from the letter published in Rind's *Virginia Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1769.

⁴ Colonel Levin Handy, "Reminiscences," *Somerset News*, July 14, 1927.

choice of masters and a good central location in the lower Eastern Shore. The students came from Maryland, Delaware and Virginia.⁵ In 1776 a larger building was erected containing "a Spacious hall for Prayers, Sermons and Public Exhibitions of the Students, and [with] Rooms sufficient to accommodate upward of eighty." Tree-lined walkways joined the different edifices, further enhancing the attractiveness of the grounds.⁶

The Revolution momentarily halted the rapid growth of the Somerset Academy. All efforts were channelled into fighting for independence. According to a contemporary observer, the students had been well disciplined in individual rights and liberties, and thus "they were ready opposers of tyrannical usurpation."⁷

One of the first effects of the Revolution was the abandonment of the name Somerset Academy for one more in harmony with the patriotic temper of the time. In November, 1779, the trustees of Somerset Academy obtained from the General Assembly an act of incorporation which authorized them to adopt the name Washington Academy. According to a correspondent of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, this step was taken in response to the encouraging turn taken by "Public Affairs" and in view of the "success and reputation of former years."⁸

By the terms of this act, the buildings and land were conveyed to the new trustees.⁹ The land—approximately four acres—was secured with the condition that if it were not used by the trustees

⁵ "A Brief Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Washington Academy in Somerset County, Maryland," *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, November 23, 1784.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* This was probably the first educational institution to be named after George Washington. Washington College in Chestertown was not established until 1782.

⁹ The first trustees established in this act were: Jacob Kerr, Levin Gale, David and Samuel Wilson, John Winder, Henry Jackson, Thomas Maddox, William Polk, Isaac Henry, Henry Waggaman and William Strawbridge. "An Act to incorporate the managers of Back-Creek School," *Laws of Maryland* . . . [November, 1779]. (Annapolis, [1780]), Chap. XV. In 1784 a supplementary act permitted the trustees to increase their number to eighteen and to appoint new members in the place of those who failed to attend meetings. According to this act additional trustees were desired in order to give representation to other Maryland counties (the act names Dorchester, Somerset and Worcester), to Virginia (Accomac(k) and Northampton counties) and Delaware (Sussex County). These counties had subscribed upwards of £500 to the support of the academy. *Laws of Maryland* . . . [November, 1784] (Annapolis [1785]), Chap. LXIV.

as a seminary of learning, it would revert to Samuel Wilson or his heirs.¹⁰

The first meeting of the trustees was held in 1783. Reverend Dr. McWhorter and Reverend Thomas Reed were in turn offered the presidency, but each declined. The Reverend William Lynn, chosen in 1784, was the first active president.¹¹ He taught oratory and natural philosophy. Archibald Walker, a graduate of the University of Glasgow with a Master of Arts degree, was employed to assist President Lynn and to teach mathematics and philosophy. Joseph Miller, with a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania, was engaged to teach geography and history. In addition to the subjects taught by the president and the two masters, Greek, Latin, and the "English Tongue" were offered.¹² During this period eighty students were enrolled.

At the same meeting, the trustees agreed to embark upon a campaign to raise funds:

A Subscription was opened and large sums were obtained from this and adjacent counties. The amount of the subscriptions at present is upward of five thousand pounds. Whenever they are completed, the names of the subscribers with the sums annexed, will be published to the world. The funds, it is expected, will be sufficiently adequate to the support of able teachers, and to the purchase of Mathematical and Philosophical Apparatus as buildings, Maps, Globes, and a considerable library are provided.¹³

Washington Academy was greatly esteemed by the public for its non-sectarian attitude. One of the first resolutions adopted by the school stated that no attempt would be made to induce any student to change his religious convictions. No evidence has been found that this rule was ever violated. This is all the more notable since the first presidents and some of the masters were clergymen. However, this was more or less a common precedent followed in most early schools.

The school buildings were destroyed by fire late in the night of the eighteenth of April, 1797.¹⁴ Rumors persisted that the burning was the act of a pupil who had been disciplined or ex-

¹⁰ Deed of conveyance, Samuel Wilson to Trustees of Washington Academy, Dec. 10, 1784, County Court House Records, Princess Anne, Somerset County.

¹¹ Maud Garland Jones, "Old Home Prize Essay," *Somerset News*, July 8, 1935.

¹² "A Brief Account," *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Nov. 23, 1784.

¹³ Record Book of the Trustees, Record Room of the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Somerset County, Princess Anne, Md.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

pelled for some offense. The loss of the buildings forced the academy to move temporarily to the home of Mr. James Brittingham in Princess Anne. This well-built frame house was located on the south-east corner of Washington and Somerset Avenues.¹⁵ Mrs. George Waggaman accommodated what few scholars there were.¹⁶ This was a trying period for the institution. At one time it was almost abandoned, and few pupils were enrolled. The academy was maintained at this residence for a short time only, as soon after the board of trustees decided to rent the Eden School. This institution, located at the head of Wicomico Creek, had been named in honor of Sir Robert Eden, the royal governor of Maryland from 1769 to 1776.¹⁷ Although it had been founded in compliance with the school law of 1723, it had not been successful and its buildings were vacant.¹⁸

Since this move was not regarded as a permanent one, a committee was appointed to select a site for a new school. About two miles south of Princess Anne, they purchased a plot of land from Whittington King, a member of the family which owned "Beverly," a show-place in that area. The seven and a half acre plot was situated on the main road between Princess Anne and King's Creek. Most accounts have stated that "old Washington Academy" in its new setting was located on King's Creek, but investigation has revealed that this site was nearer Jones' Creek, or as it has also been called, Dashiell's Creek.¹⁹

After the land had been secured, steps were taken to erect a new building. The funds of the trustees of the Academy at this time amounted to \$868.30 in investments and \$572.84 in cash; together these totalled \$1,441.14.²⁰ Since this sum was insufficient to execute the plans, a lottery was conducted by Levin Winder, John Dennis, and Littleton D. Teackle.²¹

The first building on the new site was erected in 1802 at a cost of ten thousand dollars; it consisted of a basement and two and a

¹⁵ Statement of Dr. Harry Lankford, Princess Anne, June, 1947, in a personal interview.

¹⁶ Record Book of the Trustees.

¹⁷ Charles J. Truitt, *Historic Salisbury, Maryland* (Garden City, 1932), p. 110.

¹⁸ Speech of L. T. H. Irving, delivered at dedication of Washington High School, July 5, 1892, Records of Board of Education of Somerset County, Princess Anne, Md.

¹⁹ Collection of the late H. Fillmore Lankford, used by permission of Dr. Harry Lankford.

²⁰ Record Book of the Trustees.

²¹ Collection of H. Fillmore Lankford.

half stories. The building's dimensions were seventy-five feet in length and forty-five feet in width. The outside walls were of brick covered with shingles. Some of the bricks used came from the Eden School which had been demolished; the other bricks were made at nearby kilns.²² The new school possessed typical features of the day—"four large chimneys, a conical roof . . . pediments and cupola."²³

The large room which occupied the greater part of the first floor was used as the auditorium and chapel. The remainder of this floor was devoted to class rooms. Opening from the auditorium balcony were suites and small rooms which were used as sleeping quarters by the masters and students. The offices of the administration were downstairs near the entrance, and the dining rooms and kitchen were in the back of the building.²⁴ The structure had great dignity, befitting its place in the community. The main building was graced further in 1813 by the addition of a belfry and bell, the cost of which amounted to one hundred dollars. The treasurer's report for this year shows there remained a balance of four thousand dollars after the cost of these improvements had been deducted. Perhaps the fact that the school received eight hundred dollars from the state had something to do with this financial prosperity.

As the years passed more liberal courses were added to the curriculum. In 1809 a dancing master gave lessons on Saturdays from twelve noon to seven in the evening to those who wished to learn the fundamentals of this art. Dramatics were also featured at the Academy and a stage was erected for this purpose. Among the courses taught in 1814 were: English, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, trigonometry, surveying, navigation, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, Latin, Greek, French, Spanish and oratory. The curriculum seems to have achieved a nice balance between the practical, the theoretical, and the merely ornamental.²⁵

The schedule of classes for Washington Academy was a difficult one. In the winter, the day began at seven in the morning with prayers (in fall and spring they were held at six o'clock); then recitations were conducted until eight o'clock, when break-

²² The profits of the sale of Eden School property were divided between the Trustees of Washington Academy and the Worcester County School.

²³ George Alfred Townsend, *The Entailed Hat* (New York, 1912), p. 447.

²⁴ Information supplied by Dr. Harry Lanford, who visited the school as a boy.

²⁵ Record Book of the Trustees.

fast was served. Following this, classes were held from nine to twelve every morning and from two to five in the afternoon. Prayers were again held at five o'clock just preceding the dinner meal. The scholars were required to stay in their rooms after eight o'clock; two hours in preparation for the next day's recitation were also required.

The laws of the school make odd reading today. Although non-sectarian, religion was not ignored by the school, for the students were required to attend the service of some church each Sunday. On Sunday Bible passages were assigned to be read and studied, and later in the day all were examined. Work, studying, and amusements were forbidden on Sunday. The students were not allowed to possess firearms or to keep dogs. The former of the last two regulations may seem strange today, but in the early nineteenth century it was not unusual for gentlemen to carry small arms. Also the students were examined twice a year before the vacation periods. The first vacation was late in April and lasted only a few weeks; the other was in August and continued through to the first Monday in October. The rules also forbade swearing, gaming, billiard playing, frequenting taverns, and enjoined respect to the masters.²⁷

This account would not be complete unless some mention were made of the meals which were served the students. Then, as now, they were an important factor in helping establish the reputation of a school. Certainly, it is interesting to compare the diet with that of today. For breakfast and supper the menu was as follows: "Coffee, tea, chocolate, or milk with Corn Bread and Butter or Wheat Biscuit without Butter"; the dinner consisted of the following from March 1st until the August vacation: bacon—four times a week, fresh provisions—twice a week, and a sufficiency of vegetables all the time. "Bunyan," or meatless day, was observed once a week. After August, the menu for the noon meal was changed to bacon twice a week; pork, beef or mutton four times a week; vegetables all the time; and one meatless day.²⁸

In 1843 Washington Academy united with the Franklin School, which had been incorporated in 1837. The building which they

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Laws and Regulations of Washington Academy, Princess Anne, Md.* (Princess Anne: printed by J. S. Zeiber at the Herald Office, 1832), 12 pp.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

were to use was located in Princess Anne and was known as the "Masonic Hall." The school was moved to a three acre lot purchased from Mrs. Eliza Waters, which was east of the present railroad tracks just outside the town limits. Until the new building had been moved and was ready for occupancy, the sessions of the school were held in the Carroll House, the home of Mrs. Define, which had been named for Anna Ella Carroll, who had lived in Princess Anne. A few years later the school property was enlarged by the purchase of more land on the road from Princess Anne to Snow Hill.²⁹

The union with the Franklin School caused few changes and the Academy retained its reputation. Sons of prominent families continued to attend this old institution. The principal change was one of location. Instead of a spacious setting in the country, it was now located in the town of Princess Anne. Minor alterations were made from time to time in the courses which were offered, in the rules which governed the student body, and in costs. The academy still enjoyed its popularity; it even continued its academic schedule without interruption during the Civil War.

As the result of an arrangement made in 1872 between the trustees of Washington Academy and the Board of School Commissioners of Somerset County, the Academy was associated with the public school system.³⁰ The era of private schools was declining and that of the public school movement was becoming the leading force in state education. Although this arrangement was a most satisfactory one, the members of the two boards did not contemplate the greatly enlarged enrollment which ensued.

By 1891 a stronger agreement was concluded between the trustees and the School Board.³¹ They decided to erect a new brick building in Princess Anne, employing, insofar as possible, bricks and other materials from the old academy building which had been abandoned in 1843. As the years had passed, the old building had greatly deteriorated. All efforts to sell it, either for use as a school or as a private dwelling, had failed. Sometime during the 1880's and 1890's, it had been occupied by Miss Mermiah Gibbons, a cousin of the late Cardinal Gibbons, who lived there

²⁹ Liber B. H., p. 49 and Liber L. W., No. 1, p. 1, Somerset County Court House, Princess Anne, Md.; records of Somerset County Board of Education.

³⁰ Records of Somerset County Board of Education, Princess Anne, Md.

³¹ *Ibid.*

alone.³² There is no record of the property having any other occupant. The new Washington High School was constructed at a total cost of thirteen thousand dollars and was in use from September, 1893, until 1938, when it was torn down to give way to a modern high school, which continues the tradition of service to the community begun in 1767.³³

APPENDIX

PRINCIPALS OF WASHINGTON ACADEMY, 1784-1890

Prior to 1784 the records fail to show who were the principals.

1784—Rev. William Lynn, a Presbyterian Preacher of Donegal, Ireland. He served until November 8, 1785.

1785—Archibald Walker, a graduate of the University of Oxford. He resigned in 1792.

1792—Rev. John Collins. After his resignation Mr. Fementin, a tutor in the academy took charge until a principal could be elected.

1799—Mr. James Laird of Wilmington, Delaware. Resigned in 1807 to take orders in the Episcopal Church.

1807—Dr. Johnson elected but declined. Mr. Laird consented to remain until January 1808.

1808—Mr. McCurtin.

1811—Rev. James Laird reelected. Resigned, 1814.

1814—Mr. Francis Waters.

1818—Charles Robertson, a graduate of Harvard.

1820—Rev. Joseph Spencer.

1822—Rev. William Campbell Kidd.

1823—Mr. Hugh Caldwell

1824—Rev. Francis Waters.

1828—Rev. Robert M. Laird. Resigned, July 1835.

1835—Rev. Ferdinand Jacobs. Resigned, 1837

1837—Rev. Jacob W. Eker. Resigned, 1841.

1841—Rev. Jacobs.

1841—Mr. Scudder. Resigned, 1842.

1842—Mr. Charles S. Stone. Resigned, 1843.

1843—Mr. Matthew Spencer. Resigned, 1846.

1846—Mr. Granger. Resigned, 1847.

1847—Rev. Horatio Merrill. Resigned, 1848.

1848—Mr. Matthew Spencer.

1856—Mr. H. G. Allison. Resigned, 1857.

1857—Mr. B. H. Entrip. Resigned, 1862.

1862—Mr. Richard Burke. Resigned, 1865.

³² Personal statement of Dr. Lankford.

³³ Records of the Somerset County Board of Education.

1865—Rev. William C. Handy.

1866—Rev. Macbeth.

1867—Rev. A. C. Heaton.

1871—Mr. Arthur Crisfield.

From 1872 the principals were supplied by the public school system.

1872—Mr. Cincinnatus Morris.

1876—Mr. B. H. Jesse.

1878—Mr. H. L. Leitch.

1879—Mr. William Dashiell.

1884—Mr. J. Crockett.

1890—Mr. R. M. Wimbrough.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Seventeenth Century Maryland, A Bibliography. Compiled by ELIZABETH BAER. Introduction by LAWRENCE C. WROTH. Baltimore: John Work Garrett Library, 1949. xxix, 219 pp., [174] plates. \$20.00.

This is a beautiful and expensive book, issued in an edition of 300 copies, lavishly illustrated with facsimile titlepages, introduced by the country's leading authority on the books of colonial Maryland, and dedicated to the late bibliophile John Work Garrett, on whose collection the list is based. The work outlines with thoroughness the book collectors' interests in material on Maryland printed in the 17th century.

The author's object has been "to provide a survey of the early history of Maryland, up to and including the year 1700, as reflected in the printed books issued during these years." The method employed in this generous objective results in a motley and extremely interesting list of two hundred and some titles that concern Maryland in varying degrees. About 5% of them also concern Newfoundland; about 10% also concern Virginia; 10%, Pennsylvania; 15%, the world at large; 30% also concern America more or less. The remaining 30% are strictly Maryland books, and include a few items printed in the colony: 8 to be exact, since the blank forms have been excluded.

Miss Baer has dealt with the Lords Baltimore in extenso. This explains the appearance of Newfoundland books in a Maryland bibliography, since George Calvert's Avalon experiment makes their inclusion at least as appropriate, say, as the inclusion of the Roanoke Colony might be in a Virginia bibliography. Vaughan's *Cambrensisum Caroleia* "is included . . . because some of the poems are dedicated to Lord Baltimore." One is surprised to find no trace in the list of Bacon's Rebellion, which had its roots in Maryland, but the chief narratives written in the 17th century that deal with the Maryland phase of the Rebellion were not printed at the time, and the one reference to Maryland in the printed Rebellion accounts of the day that I can find is the comment in the 1677 *Strange News* of Bacon's giving out "that it was his intention to sell his whole concerns in *Virginia*, and go with his whole Family to live either in *Merryland* or the *South*, because he would avoid (as he said) the scandal of being accounted a factious person there." Miss Baer has properly ruled this out as being too oblique a reference for inclusion.

A careful check of 17th Century books in one not inconsiderable collection of Americana, the McGregor Library at the University of Virginia, shows no single omission of any significance. The separately printed acts of Parliament can be made to yield a few items of general colonial interest that might possibly have been included (e. g., the 1643 *Ordinance* con-

cerning the Earle of Warwick and the 1649 *Rates of Excise and New Impost*), but these have presumably been ruled out as too general in nature.

The bibliographical annotation is all that a collector can desire, and is sometimes given in close detail, as in No. 22, where it is shown that the 2nd series final leaf is a 2nd series A1. In a similar instance, however, though in a much less important book, the relationship between A⁸ and Ff⁴ of No. 191 is not shown. Of the latter, there are uncanceled corrected states of the outer forme of the 12^{mo} sheet at Harvard and the Biddle Law Library of the University of Pennsylvania. The ViU McGregor copy has the canceled uncorrected state of the same forme, with a different cancellans from Miss Baer's, though with a cancellans titlepage identical with the Harvard-Biddle uncanceled titlepage. I have not found the cancellandum of the uncorrected state, and none may have survived.

This work is, in other words, not only the first real bibliography of 17th Century Maryland, but one which reflects credit on an able librarian and will stand as a suitable monument to a great collector.

JOHN COOK WYLLIE.

University of Virginia Library.

Lincoln and The Baltimore Plot, 1861. Edited by NORMA B. CUTHBERT.
San Marino, Cal.: Huntington Library, 1949. xxii, 161 pp. \$3.

This book naturally holds deep interest for citizens of Baltimore and Maryland. Zealous Unionist sympathizers of this state have always felt that a stain was placed on Maryland's fair fame by the charge that a plot had been formed to assassinate Lincoln as he passed through Baltimore on his way to the nation's capital to be inaugurated president. Some have believed firmly that such a plan had been formulated and that it was foiled only by his midnight passage through this border city from one railway terminus to another in a sleeping car, which brought him to Washington ahead of schedule. Others have felt that the authenticity of any such plot was open to serious question. Indeed, Lincoln himself was sceptical. This problem has never been solved, though historians seem to have agreed with Lincoln's advisers that he was amply justified in not taking the risk of a daylight passage through Baltimore.

Although the editor modestly states that no definitive investigation of the plot has been made, as she has done research on the subject in only three libraries, she has assembled considerable material to present to the reader. The enlightening evidence which has been reposing in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, has now been given to the public.

The editor gives properly in the introduction an account of the Lincolniana accumulated by Lincoln's old friend, William Henry Herndon, which was purchased and turned over to Colonel Ward H. Lamon, and finally found a permanent abiding place in the Huntington Library. The present volume embraces the full record of the plot as told by Allan

Pinkerton, the famous detective himself, a transcript of the detective's Record Book, an account of the occurrence at Harrisburg in connection with the thwarting of the plot set down by Norman B. Judd in 1866, and a final chapter discussing the relation to the plot of Ward H. Lamon, Lincoln's law partner from 1841-1860, and the only person who accompanied the president-elect during the entire journey from Springfield to Washington.

By all odds the most important portion of the book is Pinkerton's Record Book, a transcript of the day by day reports of Mr. Pinkerton and of his several "operators," as he preferred to call his assistant detectives. It should be noted that this is not the first publication of some of these reports, for a few excerpts were used in Lamon's *The Life of Abraham, Lincoln from His Birth to His Inauguration as President* but it is the first opportunity afforded to the average reader to peruse the entire record.

To this reviewer the evidence of a plot seems pretty conclusive: the testimony of Pinkerton himself about the Italian Ferrandini (pp. 35-36); of a Mr. Lockett, a Baltimore broker and secessionist, to Pinkerton on the method whereby the plot was to be carried out (p. 89); of A. F. C., one of the "operators," concerning the railing of O. K. Hillard, one of the conspirators, about the "leak" which made possible Lincoln's escape (p. 91); and the testimony of T. W., another assistant (p. 100). However, it is possible that historians may still differ as to whether the Pinkerton records *prove* the existence of a *plot*. Certainly, the leading detective of the day, whose training should have made him less gullible than the present-day layman, felt that he had evidence of such a plot. At least, the conviction of such a witness and the evidence contained in these pages seem such that they cannot lightly be swept aside.

Pinkerton's account, as is indicated on the flap of the jacket, is an historical account turned into a gripping, thrilling mystery story, in which real detectives reveal their methods of counter espionage.

The work of editing is competently performed with all requisite explanations and documentation.

ELLA LONN.

Goucher College, Baltimore.

A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters, 1742-1899, in the Delaware State Archives. Edited and Compiled by LEON DEVALINGER, JR., State Archivist, and VIRGINIA E. SHAW, Classifier. Family Data Supplied by Mrs. Henry Ridgely. Volume I. Published privately by some descendants of the Ridgely Family for the Public Archives Commission. Dover, Delaware: 1948. 349, 36 pp.

The Ridgelys of Delaware & Their Circle. What Them Befell in Colonial & Federal Times. Letters, 1751-1890. Edited by MABEL LLOYD RIDGELY. Portland, Maine: Anthoensen Press, 1949. xxi, 426 pp.

These books are based upon a common foundation,—the papers of the Ridgely family of Delaware, descendants of Nicholas Ridgely (1694-

1755). He was born and spent his youth in Anne Arundel County in the province of Maryland, where his grandfather, Colonel Henry Ridgely, having come from England in 1659, had risen to high office in the Proprietary government. At some time before 1734 Nicholas departed from the shores of the Chesapeake and, finally settled in the vicinity of Dover in Kent County, Delaware. The family papers extend over more than a century and a half; but the collection has undergone great and serious losses through destruction and neglect. That so much still exists is to be ascribed to the interest and devotion of Ann Ridgely, a great-granddaughter of Nicholas, and the wife of Charles I. duPont. Mrs. duPont, apparently at some time between 1887 and 1890, removed a mass of papers from a loft where they had long been in a sad state of deterioration, saved what she could, and added supplementary notes of her own. Much more recently, in our own time, Mrs. Henry Ridgely, born Mabel Lloyd Fisher, was entrusted with the care of the collection, made large additions thereto of documents gathered by herself, persuaded those who then owned the collection to present the papers to the State Archives Commission of Delaware, and helped to provide the funds necessary for the preparation and publication of the *Calendar* of Mr. deValinger and Miss Shaw. Finally, Mrs. Ridgely has now published through the Anthoensen Press her book *The Ridgelys of Delaware and Their Circle*.

The earlier letters of the collection regrettably are few and of minor importance; although both Nicholas, a lawyer, and his son Charles Greenberry Ridgely, a physician, are known to have been active in the political life of Delaware. When Dr. Charles Ridgely died in 1785, his widow became the real head of the family. This was Ann, one of the daughters of the Tory judge William Moore, of Pennsylvania. From the beginning of her widowhood to her death in 1810 Ann Moore Ridgely remains the central figure in the correspondence. She was one of those women of vigorous mind and high character who influence for good two or three generations of their contemporaries. Well educated, and herself much given to writing, she stimulated in her children proficiency in the same art. She brought to the Ridgelys, strong in their Delaware and New Jersey connections, an enlargement of social ties, particularly in Philadelphia, where two of her sisters were wives, respectively, of Provost William Smith and of Dr. Phineas Bond, and where one of her nieces was Mrs. John Cadwalader. With Maryland, in contrast, about the only close association seems to have been that with her husband's sister, Mrs. Thomas Dorsey of Elk Ridge, and her children.

The *Calendar*, which is to be in three volumes, is intended to furnish an abstract of every letter in the collection which pertains to the Ridgely family. This first volume brings the abstracts down to 1811, just after the death of Ann Moore Ridgely. Aided by Mrs. Henry Ridgely, the editors have meticulously sought to identify the writers and the recipients of the letters and the people who are mentioned by them. There is a lengthy historical introduction which proves to be a skilful analysis of the social, economic and cultural evolution of eighteenth-century Delaware, and which beguiles one into forgetting the disappointing weakness

of this part of the collection as a source for political and constitutional history. An index of thirty-six pages directs the reader not only to persons and places but to many of the subjects discussed by the letter-writers or by the editors.

The abstracts are excellent; but as to the arrangements of them into chapters there is room for question. It is stated that the principle of this is "to devote an individual chapter to the male head of the family in each generation and an additional one for his children." In this volume the plan does not work well; one has to look in widely separated places for letters written by the same person at the same time and place, because in one case that person is writing to a parent, while in another he or she is addressing a brother or a sister. Also, the postponement to the second volume of the adult letters of two of Charles Ridgely's sons leads to a very awkward title for the fourth chapter in the first volume—"Other Children of Dr. Charles G. Ridgely." The omission from its proper place on page 289 of the numerical heading, "Chapter IV" is about the only slip in proof-reading that has been noted.

Mrs. Henry Ridgely's book is, of course, different, both in form and in purpose, from the *Calendar*; though the two are really complementary. Mrs. Ridgely publishes letters in their full text, not in abstracts. Her volume extends over the whole time-range of the collection into the latter half of the nineteenth century. She has been constrained, therefore, to select letters which to her seem interesting and important. These, enriched with material drawn from other sources, she has set within a framework of her own comment which, if subjective, reveals both an intimate knowledge of the family history and a charming sense of humor. Finding an element of unity in the fact that so much of the correspondence is that of young people, or has to do with young people, Mrs. Ridgely shares with these their joys and sorrows, their illnesses and their gaieties, their visits to their relatives in Philadelphia, Newport, and other towns larger—and perhaps more interesting—than Dover. Yet to Mrs. Ridgely, no less than to those of earlier days, Dover is the center; and her interest in the Ridgelys hardly surpasses her love for their homes. At the end of her book Mrs. Ridgely has provided many unusually fine reproductions of photographs which include among their subjects Christ Church in Dover, with the Ridgely family graves; the town house familiarly called "The House on the Green"; the residence which Nicholas the founder built on his plantation, "Eden Hill," not far from Dover;—together with pictures of some of the gardens, the furniture, and the portraits of the Ridgelys.

In a whimsical vein Mrs. Ridgely writes that she wishes to have for her epitaph: "She died of the Eighteenth Century." We hope that her grandchildren, to whom she dedicates this book, and many others who read it, will say, rather, that she has brought the past to life.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

Problems of Church and State in Maryland during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. By ALBERT WARWICK WERLINE. South Lancaster, Mass.: The College Press, 1948. ix, 236 pp.

Although this study will reveal little that is new to those acquainted with the colonial history of Maryland, yet the author has made a worthwhile contribution to the religious history of the state. Scattered materials have been brought together in a single volume; the discovery of additional details has helped to fill in the outlines of a somewhat indistinct picture; and the work has been carefully documented. Following a sketch of the background of the Establishment in Maryland, considerable attention is devoted to problems pertaining to the clergy. The captions of chapters II and IV, "The Evolution of the Establishment" and "Revising Church-State Relations," are somewhat misleading, inasmuch as they are almost exclusively concerned with the conduct, education, salaries, influence and regulation of the ministers. Since the Proprietor clung jealously to his power of ecclesiastical appointment, which he used to further his political interests, and since resignation was the only means whereby incumbents were removed from office, no effective discipline of clergymen could be devised. "Sectarian Rivalries" (Chapter III), another unsuitable heading, deals primarily with anti-Catholic legislation and attitudes in the eighteenth century, although it includes a brief discussion of the numerical strength and influence of dissenters.

Most of the remaining chapters have to do with the period of the American Revolution. Attitudes of Anglicans and Catholics towards political and religious issues are investigated. No one will be surprised at the conclusion that, "The former (Anglican clergy) were Loyalists; but their congregations refused to follow them politically" (p. 128). Nor is it surprising that no correlation was found between religious affiliations and the voting of delegates on matters which were mostly political. It is interesting to note how little controversy over religious matters marred legislative conventions or newspaper discussions in this era; there was apparently no resort "to religious appeals in reaching decisions concerning political action" (p. 131). The Establishment fell a casualty to the rising democratic spirit, with little or no protest. "So far as religious liberty is concerned, the Convention made no advance beyond the province's traditional toleration" (p. 155). At the close of the war, there was still a religious test for office-holding, and non-jurors were prohibited from offices of trust or profit. Moreover, although a constitutional provision granted to the legislature the authority to levy a tax for the support of religion, this power was never used. Interestingly enough, in the rather half-hearted attempt to persuade the legislature to implement the foregoing power, even the Episcopal clergy did not fight enthusiastically for a law imposing a tax to support religion (p. 182).

While there are several criticisms that ought to be made, if more space were available, yet none of these is of sufficient importance to discredit this fine piece of research. There are some weaknesses in interpretation (more lack of interpretation than wrong ones), apparent contradictions and inconsistencies, bibliographical omissions, etc., but none of these is

serious or basic to the main part of his story. The number of factual errors is surprisingly small, so far as detected; and none of them is of any consequence. There are several areas which provoke curiosity and invite further probing.

NORMAN H. MARING.

Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

The Long Crooked River (The Susquehanna). By RICHMOND E. MYERS.
Boston: Christopher Publishing House, [1949]. 380 pp. \$4.

Mr. Myers, who is a geologist, says in his Preface that this volume "is the result of a natural interest in the human history of a river valley through which the author has worked from time to time." In eighteen chapters he undertakes to tell the significance of the Susquehanna river to the geologist, its historic role to Indian, trader, missionary, soldier, iron-master, anthracite miner, farmer, "Rebel" and politician, and its historic relation to "culture," and to the states of New York and Maryland. The book is therefore mainly a popularization of local history.

The best parts seem to this reviewer to be those that show the hand of the geologist. The imagination of Marylanders may be stirred by the realization that the Chesapeake from Havre de Grace to the Virginia Capes is little more than the ancient course of the lower Susquehanna, submerged in the Pleistocene age. As history the book is spoiled by hasty writing, carelessness as to dates and inaccuracy in details. For example, the Pennsylvania Historical Commission did not send the Moorehead expedition to explore the river (p. 56) nor did it publish the report of that expedition (p. 373). The Shades of Death were not so called because of any connection with the Wyoming Massacre of 1778 (p. 125); that name for the Poconos appears on Scull's map in 1770. The steamboat *Codorus* was launched on the River in 1825, not 1826; the *Codorus* was not 'Baltimore-financed,' and was built at York, not at York Haven (pp. 158-159). The steamer *Susquehanna* not only reached Columbia (p. 158) but went up to York Haven where it spent a winter. The operating of steamboats on the river did not end in 1851 (p. 160): they were used for ferrying service at Wrightsville well into the present century. The story that Stiegel was so popular that a lottery was held for his benefit in 1773 is fantastic, and the action of the Assembly in releasing him from a debtor's prison—quite a normal proceeding for the time—is apparently construed as further evidence of extreme popularity (pp. 209-210). That speculators owned 'vast amounts' of Pennsylvania land before the Revolution is an exaggeration (p. 238). General Early did not reach the Susquehanna (p. 265). William Maclay's diary for 20 June 1790 does not say, "There was a dinner this day which I had no notice of and never thought of such a thing," or anything like it (p. 273). Congress did not debate the question of a permanent seat for the federal government in 1778-79 (p. 272).

As for literary usage the following passages are indicative: "The need for balm on southern waters was essential to the preservation of the

young republic" (p. 273); "the embryo of a political tempest was brewing" (p. 279). The Scotch-Irish could "plow a field with one hand on the plow handle, the other grasping the rifle, and at the same time strike a bargain with some passerby to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned." (pp. 19-20). The Pennamite Wars become 'Pennite' (pp. 129-133), and the German Seventh Day Baptists are carelessly referred to as 'Seven Day Adventists.' No less than nine of the personal names used are misspelled. (Even 'Baltimorians' are not exempt.)

In spite of the book's errors and prolixity a rich and colorful history is unfolded. None of the American rivers stands more in need of a historian.

HENRY J. YOUNG.

Historical Society of York County, Penna.

The Vermont Story, A History of the People of the Green Mountain State, 1749-1949. By EARLE NEWTON. With a foreword by ALLAN NEVINS and an introduction by DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER. Montpelier: The Vermont Historical Society, 1949. x, 290 pp. \$7.50.

Writers of sound State histories are not unknown but they are rare, for home loyalties and ancestral devotion often so engulf the author as to make him more conscious of gentle sentiments and bright traditions than of the sometimes horrid fact. But Vermont consistently does odd things. It has been known, in the midst of revolution against a royal master, to stand ready for combat with three neighboring states as well as with Britain; and later to put its hard-won money into schoolhouses and libraries instead of showplaces; and later to vote Republican when 46 other states were voting otherwise; and then, in the midst of depression, to decline federal aid for a grand tourist highway (this time startling *all* the 47 other states). It should not surprise anyone, then, to see Vermont now take the lead in a new series of state histories and, in doing so, set a notable standard for others to follow. For *The Vermont Story*, besides being a book of beauty, is an effort to tell of the state's curious past as it was instead of as many devoted admirers have presented it.

To most chroniclers the extraordinary legends of Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys have been irresistible as the legends of Robin Hood. Mr. Newton resists temptation, and with steadfast attention to the record discloses that, for all Allen's feats, it was his interest in land deals which pointed him toward many of his border combats, and his interest in the potential prosperity of "Greater Vermont" which led him and his colleagues not to glorious battle but to correspondence with the enemy at the height of the Revolution. Earlier writers have paved the way for this heterodoxy, but Mr. Newton (now preparing a full-grown and documented history of Vermont yet to come) has presented his evidence in a manner to command fresh attention.

Vermont's recorded history began late, for the Indian wars which came

to an end only with France's surrender of Canada permitted only the boldest souls to settle in the upper Connecticut Valley and in the defensible areas to the west—here were the disputed "New Hampshire Grants" in a wilderness claimed both by Massachusetts and New York, to the indignation of settlers who had taken up the fronts. From those bold pioneers sprang sturdy descendants, who themselves did further pioneering in various realms. Their first constitution (written at Windsor in 1777, fourteen years before Vermont's admission to the Union as the Fourteenth State) was the first to forbid slavery and to grant universal manhood suffrage. Also it gave assurance of religious liberty—for those professing Protestantism. In the next two generations Vermont contributed from its small population to state after state of the west, and to an unsurpassed (percentagewise) sacrifice in the Civil War, and to pioneering in industry, and to a modest pioneering in the arts as well. This Mr. Newton records agreeably, with that nice balance of vigor and restraint which makes him a proper Vermonter.

The book is richly adorned with a torrent of illustrations in color, so happily portraying the scene as to please even a transplanted Yankee whose memory of that scene, familiar from boyhood, makes exacting demand. In spirit and in performance this is a state history worth examining and emulating.

MARK S. WATSON.

John Hancock: Patriot in Purple. By HERBERT S. ALLAN. New York: Macmillan, 1948. 422 pp. \$5.

A full-length biography of John Hancock has long been overdue, probably for two reasons. In the first place, he was not entirely the kind of Founding Father we like to display. Even Mr. Allan confesses that "He was vain, arrogant, egotistic, hyper-sensitive, petulant, exhibitionistic, capricious, vacillating, intemperate, susceptible to flattery, improvident and . . . somewhat of a demagogue and much of a faker. . . ." In the second place, John Hancock, though enormously popular with the masses, has always rubbed individuals the wrong way. "Mr. H. had enemies as well as other folks," his wife said, rather complacently; and many slighting comments have been handed down, of which John Adams' "empty barrel" is at once the best known and the most devastating. Though Adams later felt more charitable, he stuck to it that Hancock's "vanity and caprice made me sometimes sputter. . . ." Potential biographers have sputtered similarly down the years. Conceding his sterling qualities, applauding his services to the patriot cause, they have really enjoyed snubbing "King" Hancock—brash, uppish, vulgarly new-rich—by passing him by.

Thus, Mr. Allan's book is a needed contribution; but as a biographer he rather recalls Mr. Hancock's sad case. Minor irritants, such as coyness of style, sometimes obscure his several talents and admirable research.

ELLEN HART SMITH.

Captain Dauntless: The Story of Nicholas Biddle of the Continental Navy.

By WILLIAM BELL CLARK. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. 317 pp. \$4.50.

It was the fate of Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia to play a capable role in the fledgling Continental navy in which politics and nepotism took precedence over ability. Biddle's character and ability were unquestioned; they led, however, not to the glory of the victorious but to sudden death at the age of 27 when his ship, the frigate *Randolph* blew up while locked in battle with a far more powerful British ship of the line.

Probably few individuals have read or heard much about Biddle. Two exceptions are Mr. Clark, and Baltimore's outstanding writer, Gerald W. Johnson. Mr. Johnson's estimate of Biddle is given in his *The First Captain, the Story of John Paul Jones*. Telling of the list of naval commissions issued by the Continental Congress in October, 1776 (when the Congress was about to flee from Philadelphia to Baltimore) Mr. Johnson reports:

"The result was a list [of commissions] so astounding that even the politicians could hardly believe their eyes. No officers higher than captain were commissioned, but on the list of captains the first man worth the powder and shot it would take to kill him was number five, Biddle. . . ." Paul Jones, incidentally, was eighteenth on the list; looking through the wrong end of the telescope, one gets a glimpse of the evaluation of ability shown by our ancestors.

Mr. Clark has done an outstanding job in tracing the career of Biddle from his boyhood in Philadelphia to the still unexplained explosion of the *Randolph*. Young Biddle went to sea at an early age as did many of the youths of his time. A mediumsized, handsome youth, his diplomacy showed itself immediately, as did his qualities of leadership.

After a number of years in merchant ships higher adventure called; there was talk of war between England and Spain and young Biddle wanted to be in on the fun. Armed with recommendations he sailed for England and in June, 1771—he was not 21 years old—he became Mr. Midshipman Biddle.

Excitement eluding him, Biddle enrolled as a seaman in an Arctic exploration expedition. He returned to England at about the time of the Boston Tea Party. Realizing that war was imminent, he resigned his midshipman's commission and sailed for Philadelphia.

Biddle got his first break when he was named commander of the brig *Andrew Doria* (in which Baltimore's Joshua Barney was also to serve) by the Naval Committee of the Continental Congress. From then on and until his death Biddle was one of the few men in the Continental Navy who accomplished anything. Only after his second cruise in the *Randolph* when he took four prizes—two ships and two brigs—was he able to command seamen. Politicians had to be treated tactfully; even the elements were against him, for twice lightning wrecked masts while he lay in Charleston (S. C.) harbor. Biddle put up lightning rods.

WILLIAM B. CRANE.

Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier. By RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON with the collaboration of JAMES BLAINE HEDGES. New York: Macmillan, 1949. 873 pp. \$6.25.

Although nearly a century has passed since Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his epoch-making address entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," the vitality of his hypothesis is still capable of eliciting a first-rate treatment of the history of American expansion westward. The truth of this assertion can be found in Professor Billington's long but engrossing study of the westward movement. A student in the Turner tradition, yet not one blind to Turner's faults, Mr. Billington has attempted to present a synthesis of the "thousands of pages of writings" inspired by Turner's original essays. The result is both stimulating and satisfying.

Maryland readers will be particularly interested in the first section of the book, entitled "The Colonial Frontier." The references to Maryland events are not extensive—a fault that can be blamed primarily upon the dearth of recent first-rate studies applying Turner's ideas to the Maryland scene—but they are lively enough to whet the appetite. Indeed, *Westward Expansion* will afford many delightful, if vicarious, adventures to those in whom the pioneering spirit still secretly resides.

JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR.

Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Guns on the Western Waters. By H. ALLEN GOSNELL. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. xii, 273 pp. \$6.50.

This book is a narrative account of the operations of the gunboat flotillas on western rivers during the Civil War. More specifically, the author attempts to evaluate the role played by these gunboats in the waging of such battles as the Red River campaign, Vicksburg, and Forts Donelson and Henry. This phase of the strategy used in the Civil War takes on new significance since one of the major aims of the Union forces was gaining control of the Mississippi River and its tributaries. In this effort, naval warfare and particularly the operations of these gunboat flotillas had to play an important part.

The author approaches his subject with a discussion of the strategy of river warfare. In addition, he includes a description of the type of craft which were used to wage such a war. His study throughout, moreover, includes the exact words of the actual participants. By employing such devices, the author enables his reader to see more clearly why the war in the west had to be waged as a combined military and naval operation.

Guns on the Western Waters is not as scholarly a piece of work as it could have been. The author does, however, possess a great amount of knowledge of naval warfare which he combines with his scholarly ability. But here the similarity ends. The book has no index or bibliography. His

technique of employing long quotations throughout his text is annoying. In addition, several minor factual errors exist. He says, for instance, (p. 25) that the war began on April 12, 1861, with Fort Sumter falling the next day. Actually, the fort did not surrender until April 14. Nevertheless, the book is of value for the attention it focusses on a hitherto almost neglected phase of the Civil War. As such, its value lies in giving the Navy some of the credit for winning the Civil War.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Guide to the Records in the National Archives. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948. xvi, 684 pp.

Roy Nichols once addressed the Society of American Archivists on the subject, "Alice in Wonderland; or the Historian among the Archives." As a member of Professor Nichols' audience, this reviewer found his remarks not only amusing, but also highly instructive. How instructive they were, the intervening ten years have amply demonstrated. Extensive experience in handling archival materials has certainly reduced naïvete and insouciance to a minimum. Experience has also proved the need for a workable medium for finding one's way through such masses of material.

In publishing such media in the past, the National Archives has performed an outstanding service for scholars. Now comes as a wholly unmixed blessing a revised and greatly enlarged edition of the *Guide*. More than twice the size of the 1940 edition by 800 pages to 321 pages, this book catalogs all Government records received by the Archives up to June 30, 1947. In the bulk of the records described, the contrast is even more striking—roughly 800,000 cubic feet to 200,000 cubic feet.

The records of each Government department, bureau, and office are entered in this volume as a numbered record group. Included in each entry is a brief history of the office which originated the records, as well as a description of the records themselves. These contain a wealth of useful information about the office and its records and are buttressed by references to authoritative published works pertinent to the office. There is a list of the record groups in Appendix D arranged by office of origin, which supplements the table of contents very well. There is also an excellent index. On the whole, this is a contribution of which Dr. Wayne Grover and his staff may well be proud and which scholars generally will welcome.

OUTTEN J. CLINARD.

Historical Division, Corps of Engineers.

Florida's Flagler. By SIDNEY WALTER MARTIN. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1949. 280 pp. \$3.

In this balanced and unbiased account of the life of Henry M. Flagler, one meets a dynamic personality—a self-disciplined man of singular efficiency and determination whose passion was the acquisition of wealth. Born in New York State in 1830, the son of a Presbyterian minister, he trekked west to Ohio when 14 years of age. Close application and great energy, combined with self-confidence, a certain daring and a Midas touch, created an extraordinary career. In 1913 he died leaving an estate approximating \$100,000,000.00.

Wealth, acquired and accumulating, and imaginative vision enabled him to become "Florida's Flagler." Two delightful months of Florida sunshine in the winter of 1884 germinated in the mind of Flagler thoughts of the Florida East Coast as a sanctuary of escape from the rigors of northern climates. He could afford to expend millions in the development of the Florida East Coast. He did so and was granted sufficient longevity to observe his vision come into full flower.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THOMAS BEALL OF GEORGETOWN REPORTS THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON

A vivid if terse contemporary report of the British capture of Washington and Alexandria in August, 1814, appears unexpectedly enough in an account book of the Georgetown merchant, Thomas Beall, 1748-1819. The book was presented to the Society last winter by Mr. H. Irvine Keyser II, a descendant of the writer of the account and grandson of the donor of the Society's home, the H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building. The entries in the day-book read:

Wednesday 24th. day of Augt. 1814

the British Commanded by Genl. Cockbourn [*sic*] & Genl. Ross met Genl. Winder Commander of the American Forces and had a sharp conflict the Militia Retreated under Winder to Geo Town, from there to Tennely Town the British pushed after and there advanced Gard arrived in the City Washington at 7 o'K same night by 8. or nine the Navy Yard was in flames the magazine blew up with a great explosion the fort at the point went up, then Mr. Carroll's Great Hotel then followed the Capitol several other Houses, on the Hill about 12 olk the presidents House followed in Turn with the Treasury Office Thursday—they burnd. the several Roap Walks Ringolds & Renners. there came on about 4 olk the Great Wind and Rain I ever beheld, about sun-set the British left the City and went to Bladensburgh Thuy. 25 from thence to Marlboro & & Saturday, about 5 olk P. M.—a heavy canonading was heard at Fort Washington, & con-

tinued until 9 o'clk when the Magazine blew up with a terrible Explosion [*sic*] that jared the Windows, and Ground here Sunday morning. 28. about 9 o'clk A. M. discovered the Fort & other buildings in flames—Alexa. taken and Laid under Contribution report says 150 000 bbs. flour, and thousand Hhds. Tobo. or as much as they can take away—the British fleet left Alexa. Monday 5 Sept. 1814 & went down in dispite of 2 Batteries Comd. by Potter [Porter] & Perry.

Memo of Expenses Dr	14 bbs [barrels] fine [flour] in Granary	
To 1 bbl. fine flour opened to feed People horses 8, a week ago [\$]		5-
" 1 Do. Do. gave Negro Peter taking care Goods		5-
" 1 Do. Do. for family use about 20 Sept.		5-
" 1 Do. gave old Beck [?] 10 Oct. 1814		5-
" 1 Do. opened for Ingram 12 Do. do		5-

 25-

The volume, covering the years 1812-1824, reflects the economic life of the early nineteenth century through such entries as those for tobacco, wheat, flour, oysters, shad, carriages, coal, cordwood, bank stock, knives and forks, furred boots, house rents, "dressing a hat," "large chickings of the game breed" and hire and sale of Negro slaves. Among the customers were Oliver Evans, George C. Washington, Charles Carroll of Bellevue, R. P. Magruder, Capt. T. B. Beall, Joseph Delaplaine, Dr. Charles Worthington and E. Riggs. Probably the earliest record of George Peabody in Georgetown is this: "Oct. 29, 1814—To cash paid peabody $\frac{1}{4}$ yd. Cloth 2.50."

Thomas Beall was the son of George, builder of Dumbarton, and father of Elizabeth Ridgely Beall who became Mrs. George C. Washington. The entries appear to be in the handwriting of Beall until his death, Oct. 5, 1819, and thereafter in that of his son-in-law, Mr. Washigton, who conducted the business affairs of his wife's mother. George Corbin Washington, 1789-1854, was, of course, a great nephew of General Washington and represented Maryland in the House of Representatives for four terms. He was president of the C. & O. Canal and divided his residence between Georgetown and his plantation in Montgomery County.

In August, 1947, the Society received as the gift of Miss Henrietta D. Stonestreet, of Baltimore, a ledger record 1790-1798 of the Georgetown business of Brooke Beall, near relative of Thomas Beall. The relationship between the two businesses, if any, is not yet clear.

STOVES AT HAMPTON

"When Hampton was built," according to J. C. Carpenter, writing on the topic "An Old Maryland Mansion" in *Appleton's Journal* for May 8, 1875, "... the country-people soon saw with amazement what was to them a palace rising in the wilderness. . . . They called it 'Ridgely's Folly' . . . it had too many 'new-fangled notions' about it. Marble

mantels, folding doors, sofas, mahogany sideboards, and chinaware, were almost unknown immediately after the Revolution. Yet Hampton must be adorned with all these. . . . Stoves in houses or in churches were the rarest of luxuries. . . . Prior to 1800 there were not six four-wheeled carriages in the whole city of Baltimore. And the captain would have carpets, and stoves, and carriages; drove, indeed, with a coach-and-four when the fancy seized him."

Highly colored descriptions such as this are notably unreliable. Research in connection with the restoration of Hampton has so far failed to indicate the type of stoves used in Hampton or even to finally prove that stoves were originally installed there. It seems likely that some form of the Franklin stove or "Pennsylvania fireplace," invented in 1742, would have been used.

The use of cast iron stoves in early America, long before the completion of Hampton in 1790, is not generally realized. They were in common use in French Canada in the seventeenth century and were widely used in the United States by the close of the eighteenth century. In the *Maryland Journal*, Baltimore, January 14, 1783, Captain Ridgely himself advertised stoves, as well as kettles, Dutch ovens, flat-irons, and cannon. Careful examination of the fireplaces at Hampton have failed, however, to settle the type of stoves, if any, originally installed. Search of the Ridgely papers at the Maryland Historical Society have not yet yielded conclusive evidence. It is hoped that anyone in possession of information about the type of stoves used in this area toward the close of the eighteenth century will let the restoration authorities know. Documentary evidence or actual examples of stoves of the period, if the evidence is clear, are desired.

Examples of wallpaper and carpeting used in Baltimore in the last quarter of the eighteenth century would also be of great interest.

CHARLES E. PETERSON, Regional Architect,
National Park Service, Richmond, Va.

THUNDER STORM AT DR. BUCHANAN'S HOME, 1752

Thanks to Mr. William B. Marye, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, the Magazine is able to reprint the following account of an event at the Buchanan home, near Baltimore, on the estate now known as Druid Hill Park. No doubt the house referred to is that known as the Colonial house, a picture of which is published with the article on Druid Hill in this issue.

"Monday last in the Afternoon, [July 27] there was a very violent Gust of Lightning and Thunder, in *Baltimore* County, which struck the House of Mrs. *Buchanan*, Widow of the late Dr. *Buchanan*, about 3 Miles from *Baltimore-Town*; whereby Mrs. *Buchanan* was struck speechless for some Time, and a young Woman, Miss *Elizabeth Gill*, who liv'd with Mrs. *Buchanan* as a Companion, and was sitting at Work in the same Room with her, was instantly struck dead. Two Negroes were likewise struck down

in the Kitchen, but the Building received no Damage. A Decanter standing on a Chest of Drawers was split in Pieces, and a large China Bowl was flung to the Ground without being broke or crak'd"—*Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, July 30, 1752.

PARKER GENEALOGICAL PRIZE.

The sum of approximately \$50 is available for prizes for well prepared genealogies of Maryland families, submitted for the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Annual Award. Preference will be given those papers that present a connected and orderly account of one or more families identified closely with Maryland. Entrants may be either members or non-members of the Society. Papers presented in this contest should be received by the Society on or before December 31, 1949. This award was established in 1947, in memory of the late Sumner A. Parker by Mrs. Parker, who has herself taken a keen interest in Maryland genealogy and wishes to see the Society's collection of genealogies extended as far as possible.

Hughes—Information is wanted on Clementine Lavinia Hughes, born March 17, 1786, who married on January 1, 1807 Daniel Lambdin Haddaway of Talbot County, Maryland, he was born May 1, 1788 and died May 12, 1848.

F. Bradford Simpson,
423 Alpine Terrace, Ridgewood, N. J.

Williams—Joseph Williams died in 1692, his wife Edith Cromwell and later his brother Benjamin administered his estate. His will gives him as late of Calvert County; Administration accounts list him as late of Baltimore County and a 1699 Judgment, Taylor versus Williams, states he was late of Cecil County. Has anyone any information on where this Joseph was born and when, how he came to this country or when he settled in Maryland?

Mrs. Elwood Williams,
101 West 10th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Judge John Charles Watrous of Texas—Information is sought concerning the career of Judge Watrous in Maryland and of a possible picture of him. Born in Connecticut, 1801, he graduated from Union College and studied law in Knoxville, Tennessee. He came to Texas in 1837 and the next year was made attorney general of the Republic of Texas. In 1846 he was appointed a Federal judge and lived in Galveston. He married Melinda R. Williams in 1866, probably in Washington, D. C. He died in

Baltimore, June 19, 1874, leaving two minor children. Possibly descendants of these daughters, if any, may have data about Judge Watrous.

Walace Hawkins,
Magnolia Petroleum Co., Dallas 1, Texas.

Uniforms of Maryland Militia, 1800-1820—A study of the uniforms of the various organizations comprising the local militia in the early decades of the last century is under way by a group of military historians and artists with a view to publication of an illustrated history of American militia uniforms. Any information of this subject, especially descriptions, sketches, parts of uniforms, hats, buttons, etc., will be gratefully received.

Harry D. Berry, Jr.,
37 Alleghany Ave., Towson 4, Md.

Pierpont or Pierpoint—Information is sought as to the parents of Francis Pierpoint, Jr. b. 1712, died 1781, whose wife was Sarah Richardson, b. 1719 in Anne Arundel County, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Thomas) Richardson. The Pierpoint-Richardson marriage occurred at West River, Maryland in 1737 or 1738. Sarah Thomas Richardson died June 18, 1748. Pierpoint was the son either of Charles and his wife Sidney Chew, or of Francis and his wife Elizabeth Mitchell. The Pierpoints were Friends. Mrs. Pierpoint, Jr., her father, Joseph Richardson, and Charles Pierpoint, her husband's father (?) all died in 1798 about the time the Pierpoints bought land in Frederick County. Does anyone know what happened?

Mrs. Harlan T. Pierpoint,
85 William St., Worcester, Mass.

CONTRIBUTORS.

A student of the diplomatic side of relations between the United States and certain Italian states, Dr. MARRARO was the author of "William Pinkney's Mission to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, 1816," which was published in these pages last December. He is Associate Professor of Italian at Columbia University. ☆ Mr. ALDRIDGE is a graduate student in the Department of English at the University of Maryland. ☆ Readers of the Magazine are familiar with the articles on various historical topics which Mrs. BEVAN has contributed from time to time. She is an authority on book plates, gardening and other themes. ☆ A native of the Eastern Shore, Mr. RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR., is a graduate of Washington College, Chestertown, holds the M. A. degree in history from the University of Pennsylvania, and is continuing graduate studies at the latter institution.

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